RUIT HORA

See you not Learning in his Lookes
But more lively in his Bookes.

Tho. Cross Sculpsit

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HUGO GROTIUS
HIS
DISCOURSES,

I. Of GOD, and His *Providence.*
II. Of CHRIST, His *Miracles* and *Doctrine.*

With *Annotations*, and the Authors LIFE:

An *Appendix* concerning his Judgment in ſundry points controverted:

By the Tranſlator of the ſame Author, *De Imperio*, &c.

Nec omnia, nec nihil.

LONDON,
Printed by *James Flesher* for *William Lee*, at the *Turks Head* in *Fleetstreet*, 1652.

No. 76

To his Honoured Friend, M. *Tho. Williams* Bariſt. of the *Temple*.

Worthy SIR,

I *Preſent unto you the two principal Diſcourſes of the ſix, which my Authour wrote in Defence of Chriſtian Religion. Having read what was afore written by others, He choſe rather to uſe his own judgement in compoſing a new Treatiſe (preſerving the liberty of his minde, as himſelf ſpeaketh, when his body was under reſtraint) then to beſtow his pains in tranſlating what was formerly done by* Morney, Vives, *and others. For although They have pleaded the Cauſe of Religion with very much learning and eloquence, yet my Authours opinion was, that Truth is to be maintained only with Truth, and ſuch Truth as himſelf acknowledged. For in vain ſhould he endeavour to beget in other men a belief of thoſe things which himſelf did not believe. Wherefore, he hath choſen both out of the old and new Writers, what was moſt probable to*

Him; not alleaging Arguments which he judged of no weight, nor the Authority of Books, which he either certainly knew, or justly suspected to be suppositious. The Arguments of most value, being selected, and at first expressed in Dutch verse (for the use especially of the Low-country Sea-men and Merchants, that trade with Infidels;) the Authour afterward adorned with his excellent Roman *stile, and dedicated to Monsieur* Bignon, *the* French *Advocate. The Translator, hoping he hath not wronged the Authors sense by his English, dedicateth it to you, praying that you (and all Advocates, in your noble Societies) may ever rightly judge of, and sincerely love the Christian Religion, and lawful Ministers thereof: and that You, dear Sir, may live many prosperous years, the Ornament and the Muniment of your vertuous and numerous Family. To all which, in You, I gladly take this opportunity of shewing publickly the grateful Minde of*

Your faithfull Servant,

From *Hawling*, on
New-years Eve,
1651.

CLEMENT
BARKSDALE.

THE LIFE OF HUGO GROTIUS.

THis excellent Man breathed his first ayr at *Delph* in *Holland*, and more ennobled that Town by his Birth there, 4. *Eid. Apr. An.* 1583. He was the the son of an ancient and illustrious House. His Grand-Father, of the same name, was learned above the model of those darker times, and well skil'd in the three principal Languages, *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*. His Uncle, *Cornelius Grotius*, was professor of the Civil Law at *Leiden*, where he flourished in the good esteem and favour of the best men. His Father, was *Iohannes Grotius*, Curator of that University, whose Poems are extant, with *Lipsius*'s Letters to him, and *Dousa*'s verses: whose name also hath adorned ma-

ny learned mens Books dedicated unto him. Being bleſt with this hopeful Son, he uſed all pains and care in his good education, and cheriſhed this great Wit ſo well, that when he was but eight years old, *viz. An.* 1591. He did *fundere verſus*, make *ex tempore* verſes, and diſputed twice publickly in queſtions of Philoſophy. *An.* 1598. *æt.* 15. He travelled into *France*, in the Train of that Incomparable Perſon, *Ioannes Oldenbarneveldius* Embaſſador from the States to the *Great Henry*; and returned honoured by Royal Bounty, and the friendſhip of illuſtrious men; having before that time begun to ſet forth *Notes* upon the ſeven liberal Arts of *Martianus Capella*. When he had after ſtudied ſome years at *Leiden*, much endeared unto *Scaliger*, his Father fearing the young Scholar's mind ſhould, by the Amenity and delight of humane literature and Poeſy, be drawn away from more profitable employment, he was taken off, and aſcribed among the Advocates at the *Hague*, *An.* 1599. and ſoon after pleaded Cauſes. Yet did not he addict himſelf ſo much to that profeſſi-

on,

on, but that his *Genius* led him back and made him often reviſit his former ſtudies of Humanity. For which, he was moſt dear to the *French* Embaſſador *Buzanval*, to *Ianus Douſa* the Father, and many other Perſons of Honour. About this time the States of *Holland* begun to uſe his ſervice, in penning the Hiſtory of the moſt famous War in the whole world. Afterward, *An.* 1607. commended by the ſuffrages of the Courts, nominated by the *States*, and elected by the moſt potent Prince, the Admiration of all other Princes, *Grave Maurice*, he became *Fiſci Advocatus*: And behaved himſelf ſo well in this moſt weighty office, that he received from his ſuperiours a moſt ample Teſtimony of his diligence and integrity. Here, perceiving the Trade into *India* of great importance to his Country, that he might ſtirre up the ſpirits of his Countrymen thereto. He wrote a Book *De Jure Commercii Indicani*. Again, obſerving, after the Truce with the *Spaniard*, the Peace of the Common-wealth began to be diſturbed by certain dangerous Innovators, judging

judging it to be the duty of a good Patriot, to oppose himself against such Designs, and to commend unto all the present State, he set out a Dissertation entituled, *De Antiquitate Reipub. Batavic.* After the death of *Elias Adenbarneveldius*, a man not less noble for his good parts then his family; Our *Grotius* suffered himself to be chosen into his place, *Syndic* of *Roterdam*, and so was advanced from the Bar to the Bench. And then was he sent into Great *Britain* to accommodate the difference about the *Indian* Trade; and thence he was dismissed not without eminent Marks of favour from that King of Learning and Religion, and from the most learned men of that Island: together with this most pleasing fruit of his journey, that he there found the great Scholar *Isaac Casaubon*, whom he had reverenced before at a distance, and had now enjoyed a more intimate and familiar Conversation with Him.

At that time, the Church being very sick of the Controversies about Predestination, and of the contention of some Pastors with the

the Magistrates about the Right of Church-Government: insomuch that the States of *Holland* were by some contumeliously reproached: Our Authour thought it to be his duty to vindicate the Right of the State, and offer his medicines for the cure of those Distempers, and shew the way to Peace in those and other Differences that disturbed the Christian world.

Thus far out of *Meursius* his *Athenæ Batavæ*, a Book much tending to the Honour of that University, and may be a fit precedent to our two famous Universities, and to *London*, (that perhaps may be, not improperly, stiled a Third Academy, and the most famous of All) to do the like.

Now I confess much may be added to the Life of our Author, concerning his Troubles in his Country, his Imprisonment, his strange escape and preservation, his entertainment in *France*, his employment there, as Lord Embassador for the Kingdom of *Sweden* many years, His laborious and learned Books written both in his prison and at liberty, in his private and in his publick fortune, which

are

are in high eſtimation with all ingenious Students. But theſe things we ſhall reſerve for our Preface to what we tranſlate out of his *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, which we ſhall communicate to the *Engliſh* Reader, if that be accepted, which we have here done, and lately in our Tranſlation of his *De Imperio*, &c. This book now mentioned was Printed at *Paris* after the Authors death, *An.* 1647. Written many years before: it was reprinted there the following year with ſome Notes of *Blondel* and an Appendix *DE JURE PLEBEIO*: but upon ſight thereof I find no neceſſity to ſay any thing in defence of my Authors Doctrine, which I conceive to be very ſound, and worthy to be conſidered by the Rulers in every Chriſtian Common-wealth.

We will add here a word of our Authors death. After ten years honourable Embaſſy in *France* for the Queen of *Sweden*, as he returned out of *Sweden* again, he fell ſick, and was taken from us, to the great loſs of learning, at *Roſtock*, An. Dom. 1645. *Æt.* 64.

The Grace and Shame of Holland, *Friend of* France,
Swedes *Orator*, *the Conquerer of Chance*;
Poet, *Hiſtorian*, *Lawyer and Divine*,
(*Read and admire him*) *All in one combine.* C.B.

I. DISCOURSE,

Of God, and His Providence.

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Of

I DISCOURSE
of GOD *and his Providence.*

IT is manifeſt by Senſe, and by the Confeſſion of all the World, there are ſome things which have had beginning: but thoſe things could not give beginning to themſelves; for then they would work before they were, which is impoſſible: It follows then, that they had Original from without. Which is not onely true of things viſible to us, but of them alſo whence they received their Being; till at laſt we arrive at ſome Cauſe, that never had beginning, and whoſe Being is neceſſary, not contingent. And this is that which we mean by the Name of *GOD*. Again, this is made good, by the moſt apparent and unanimous Conſent of all Nations, where Barbariſm hath not quite extinguiſh'd the ſparks of Reaſon and good Manners: For, ſeeing all things that depend upon the will of man, are neither the ſame among all men, and

I. That there is a God.

are often changed: But this Notion is found every where, and is not changed by the Vicissitude of Times (as *Aristotle* himself, a man hard of belief without Demonstration, hath observed:) certainly, there must be some universal cause hereof; which can be no other, then either the Oracle of God himself, or Tradition derived from the first Parents of Mankinde. If we admit the former, the Question is won: if the latter, truly no good Reason can be given, why we should believe our first Parents would deceive all their Posterity in a thing of so great moment. Moreover, whether we survey the parts of the world long since known, or the new-found Lands, where (as we said) any Remains of Humanity are left; this Notion appears, both among witty, and duller Nations: And, it is not credible, that either all the former could be deceived, or the latter be able to deceive. If any one oppose and say, Some few men, in sundry Ages, have not believed, or at least professed they did not believe there is a God. *Obj.*

I answer, Seeing they were but few, and their Opinion was generally rejected, so soon as their Arguments were heard, it is manifest, it was not the force of right *Ans.*

Rea-

Reason (which is common to men) but of an innovating Spirit; like the opinion of him, who would needs have the Snow to be black; or of a corrupt minde, that, as a sick palat, tasteth not things as they are. We may say this the more confidently, because Histories and other Writings tell us, The more any men have excelled in Vertue, the more studiously have they preserved this Notion of a Deity. And, That the defection from the Opinion anciently and universally received, proceeds from their depraved disposition, for whose interest it is, there should be no God to call them to accoung for their ungodly Doings, even hence appears; Because, whatsoever they hold, whether succession of things without any beginning, or concourse of Atoms, or whatsoever else, it is encumbred with no less, if not with greater difficulties; nor will any considering man finde so much reason to believe it, as what we say. Some object, Because they cannot see God, therefore they cannot believe He is. Those men, if they see any thing, see well enough how unworthily this is spoken by any man, that believes he hath a Soul, which he sees not. Neither if our understanding cannot comprehend *Obj.* *Ans.*

the Divine Nature, must we therefore deny there is a God? For, it is a defect peculiar to inferior things, not to be able to comprehend things superior and more excellent. The Brutes do not conceive what Man is; much less, by what reason Common-wealths are instituted and governed, the courses of the Stars measured, and Shipping invented. All these things are above their capacity. Upon this, Man, being advanc'd above the Brutes in nobleness of Nature, and that not by himself, ought to infer, That He, who hath advanc'd him, is also his superior; and being so, by his excellency, exceeds the narrowness of Humane Comprehension.

II. That God One.

A God there is: we have evinced that. We come now to his Attributes: The first whereof is Unity. That there is One God, and no more, is collected hence; Because, God (as above was said) is that which hath a Being necessary, or by itself, not as it is considered in general, but as it is in act. The things in act are singular: But, if you suppose many Gods, you will finde nothing in them singly, why they can have a necessary Being: nothing, why they should be rather Two, then Three, or Five then

Ten. Moreover, the Multiplication of ſingular things of the ſame kinde, is from the fecundity of Cauſes whence they are extracted. But, of God is no Original, no Cauſe. Farther, in ſingulars are certain ſingular proprieties, whereby they are diſtinguiſh'd: which in God, whoſe Being is neceſſary, are not needful to be ſuppoſed. Nor indeed can you any where finde any tokens of a plurality in God. For, all things make up but one World; therein is one thing moſt beautiful, the Sun: and in every man, one thing hath empire over the reſt, the Minde. Beſides, if there were Two, or more Gods, working with freedom of Will, They might will things contrary, and one hinder the other from effecting his Intent: But, to ſay of God, that He may be hindred, is moſt unworthy of his Nature.

III. That all Perfection is in God.

To proceed to other Attributes of God: That whatſoever is contained in the name of Perfection, is in God: hence is underſtood; Becauſe all the Perfection in the World either had beginning, or not: if not, it is the Perfection of God: if it had beginning, it was from ſome Cauſe; for, nothing

comes of Nothing. It follows then, the Perfections apparent in the effects, were first in the Causes, that by them the Causes might produce their effects: And therefore all Perfection was in the first Cause. Nor could the First Cause be afterward depriv'd of any Perfection: not by any other; because, what is eternal depends not on other things, nor suffers from their action: not by it self; because, every thing naturally desires its own Perfection.

IV. And that infinitely.

We must adde, These Perfections are in God infinitely. Because, the Attribute of every thing is limited, either by reason the Cause thereof hath communicated to it so much, and no more; or else, for that the thing it self was capable onely of so much. Now, no Nature communicateth any thing of it self to God, nor doth He receive any thing from without, existing (as we said) necessarily, or by himself.

V. That God is Eternal, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and of infinite Goodness.

Moreover, it being manifest, That Things having life, are more perfect then the Things without life; and the Things that have understanding, then those that understand not; and the things that are good, then such as are not so: It follows from the premises, All

these

these Attributes do agree unto God, and that infinitely. He is therefore of infinite Life, that is, Eternal; of infinite Power, that is, Omnipotent; and so Omniscient, and All-good without exception.

VI. That God is the Cause of all things.

It is connexed herewith, That all things, whatsoever have existence, have the Origin of it from God. For, one of our Conclusions was, That which is necessarily, or by it self, is but One. Whence it follows, All other things take their Rise from that which is divers from themselves. All which, either immediately, or in their Causes, have beginning from that which hath no beginning, namely, from God, as we have seen afore. Nor is this evinced by Reason onely, but after a sort by Sense. For, if we behold the admirable structure of mans Body, both within and without; and, how all parts there, even the least, have their use, without any study, without any industry of the Parents; and, with so much art, that the most skilful Philosophers and Physicians could never enough admire it; This speaks the Maker to be a most excellent Intelligence. Whereof, *Galen* may be seen, where especially he exa-

mines the use of the Eye, and of the Hand. Yea, the Bodies of the mute Animals speak no less: whose Parts receive their place and figuration, not from any force of the matter, but of the end whereto they serve. The Plants also and Herbs reade us the same lesson, as Philosophers have accurately noted. *Strabo* hath observed the same, by the position of the Waters; that, if you respect their quality, ought to take place between the Earth and the Air: but, now are interfused in the Earth, to the end they might be serviceable to the Earths fruitfulness, and to the life of Man. Now, to work for an end, is the property of an intelligent Nature. Neither are particulars onely ordained to their peculiar ends, but all things to a common end, as appears in Water, which against its own nature moves upward to preserve the frame of the Whole from any gap or vacuity, being so composed, that by a continued cohesion of parts it sustains it self. But, the intention of this universal End, and Power in all things to attain unto it, must needs come from that Intellect, that is Master of this Universe. And, do not some of the irrational Creatures exercise

Lib. 17. vid. Chrysost. de Stat. 9. Serm.

cise acts with such order and direction, that they manifestly proceed from some Reason? which appears most in Ants and Bees, and in some other Creatures too, which, before any experiment made, either eschew the harmful, or pursue things profitable. That themselves have not this Vertue of inventing or judging, appears in that their work is alwayes the same, and to other things of greater moment their power is nothing. Wherfore it is necessary, those acts proceed from an external Reason, either directing the Creatures, or making an effectual impression on them: which Reason is nothing else but what we call *GOD*. Again, the Celestial Stars also, and the most eminent among them, the Sun and Moon, run their courses so attempered and applied to the fertility of the earth, and commodity of living Creatures, that nothing can be imagined more convenient. For, although the Motion, by the Equator onely, had been much more simple and direct, we see they have another oblique motion, whereby they might communicate their Favors with the more variety. Now, as the Fruits of the Earth are for the living Creatures: so the rest of the

living Creatures are for Man, who by the exsuperance and advantage of his Wit subdues them all unto himself. Whence, even to *Stoicks* did conclude, The World was made for Man. But, seeing no power of man can reach so far, as to command service from the Lights of heaven; nor are they to be supposed to have enslav'd themselves to Man of their own accord: It follows, That there is a Superior Minde, by whose Order those fairest Bodies vouchsafe their perpetual Aid unto Man dwelling so far below. Which Minde is no other then the wise Maker of the Stars and Universe. And, the very Motions of the Stars, both eccentric and epicyclic, manifestly shew, not the Vertue of their Materials, but the Ordination of a free Agent. The same shines forth in the position of the Constellations, some on this, some on that part of Heaven: and likewise, by the so unequal Form of Land and Sea. The motions also of the Stars, this way rather then that way, gives evidence to this Truth. Yea, the most perfect round figure of the whole, and the parts, embraced as it were in the bosome of Heaven, and in a wondrous order all dis-

Cic. de Offic. 3. & de Nat. deor. 2.

Vid. Maimon. duct. dubit. p. 2. c. 24.

disposed, do with loud voyce proclaim, These things came not together by Chance, but were constituted by an Intellect, and that of greatest excellence. For, who is so void of Reason, to expect from the hand of Chance any thing so exact? As if one should believe Stones and Timber could, by Chance, meet together and make a House; or, some Poems start up out of letters uncomposed: When as, he that spyed Geometrical Figures on the Shore, presently acknowledged the prints of humane Art, being assured Chance was not the Author of them. Morever, that Mankinde was not from ever, but from a certain point of time had its common Original, the Progress of Arts, among other Arguments, evinceth; and the Birth of old inculc, but in process of time inhabited. Which also the Language of Islands tells us, borrowed from the adjoyning Continent. Adde hereto, certain Institutes and Customs so common to men, that they seem received, not so much from instinct of Nature, as from perpetual Tradition, and (except in some few places, through Malice or humane Calamity) uninterrupted; such as in ancient time was the slaying

Sent apud Lact. Non dum sunt mille anni, ex quo initia sapientia nota sunt.

slaying of Sacrifices in Divine Service, and still is the Bashfulness about Venereous matters, the solemnities of Marriage, and the abhorrency of Incest.

VII. Answer to an objection concerning the Cause of Evil.

Nor ought we to be removed from our grounds, for that we see many evils come to pass, whose Original seems not to be from God, who is (as we said afore) perfectly good. For, when we did set down our position, That God is the Cause of all things; we added, of things that have a real subsistence. This hinders not, but the things which do subsist, may themselves be causes of certain Accidents, such as Actions are. God created Man, and the Intelligences above Man with a liberty to act: which liberty of acting, although it self be not vicious, yet is able to produce somewhat that is so. And, to Evils of this sort, which are called morally evil, to ascribe God for the Author, is very gross impiety. There are Evils in another sense, so named, because they adfer some pain or loss to the person that suffers, which, we deny not, proceed from God: and that either for the patient's amendment, or else for a punishment answerable to the offence. Herein is nothing repugnant to the Divine Goodness.

Goodneſs. Yea, theſe Afflictions oftimes are the effects of meer Goodneſs, like a bitter Medicine from a good Phyſician.

VIII. Againſt two Principles, or firſt Cauſes.

By the way, their Opinion is to be rejected, who have made two active Principles, the one good, the other bad. For, from two Principles, one oppoſite to the other, deſtruction will enſue, orderly Conſtruction cannot. Nor doth it follow, becauſe ſome thing is Good by it ſelf, therefore there may be ſomewhat, by it ſelf and every way bad: ſeeing Evil is but ſome defect, which cannot be but in ſomething that doth exiſt: And this very Exiſtence is ſome Good.

IX. That the whole world is governed by God.

Moreover, that this Univerſe is governed by God's Providence, appears from the care, which not onely Men, endued with underſtanding, but Birds, wilde Beaſts and Cattel (which have ſomewhat in ſtead of underſtanding) have every one of their Iſſues. Which Perfection, being a part of Goodneſs, is not to be ſeparated from God: and the rather, becauſe he is both Omnipotent and Omniſcient; ſo that he cannot but know what things are done or to be done, and himſelf can moſt eaſily

ly direct and rule them. Pertinent whereunto, is that we said above, of the Motion of things against their proper nature for a publike end.

X. Sublunary things as well as Celestial.

They that confine this Providence within the Sphære of Heaven, are prov'd to be in an Error as wide as Heaven from Earth, both by the Reason already alleaged, whose force reacheth unto all the Creatures; and hence also, that the Stars in their Courses, as the best of the Philosophers acknowledge, and is demonstrated by plain experience, are ordained for the use of Man. And it were very unequal, That Creature should be less regarded, for whose benefit another is made, then that which is provided for its use.

XI. And things singular also.

Nor are They less deceived, who submit Universals to the care of God, but not Singulars also. For, if they would have God ignorant of singular things, as some profess, then would he not so much as know himself; neither will his Knowledge be infinite (which we have prov'd before) if singular things be not included within the compass of it. But, if God know them, how comes it about that he cares not for them? When as, both singular things, as singular,

lar, are ordained to a certain end, particular and universal; and the kindes or species of things, which (as these men confess) are conserv'd by God, subsist not, but in the singulars: So that, if the singulars, being abdicated by the Divine Providence, go to ruine, the things in general cannot remain.

XII. Farther proof from the Conservation of Empires.

It is no light Argument of the Divine Providence, in the judgement of Philosophers and Historians, the Conservation of Common-wealths: First in general; because whereſoever the order of Ruling and Obeying is once entertained, it abides ever: And then in special, by the long continuance of this or that Form of Government, through many Ages; as, of the Regal among the *Assyrians*, *Egyptians* and *Francks*; of the Optimacy among the *Venetians*. For, although somewhat may be ascribed to humane Wisdom, yet if we consider well the multitude of evil men, with external evil Accidents, and the Vicissitude innate to humane Affairs, it seems impossible for any Empire to endure so long, without some peculiar Care of the Divine Power. Which if it be not seen in the Conservation of Empires, is none evi-

dently

dently shewed, when it pleases God to make a Mutation of them. For the Instruments He useth to that Design, such as *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Cæsar* the Dictator, and others, these have all things, even those which depend not upon humane Prudence, flowing in upon them with unexpected Success; more then is usual in the uncertain Affairs of the world. Which Constancy of their Fortune, and perpetual similitude of Events, and as it were Conspiration of all Accidents unto one certain End, is an open Declaration of a provident Direction. For also at Dice, to throw size-cinque sometimes, may be Chance; but if one throw the same Cast a hundred times together, no man will deny, This is done by some extraordinary Art.

Usq; adeores humanas vis abdita quædam Obterit. Lucr.

XIII. The same proved by Miracles.

But the most sure Testimony to Divine Providence, is given by Miracles and Predictions, which in Histories are extant. It is true, many things in this kinde are fabulously reported: but those that are Authoriz'd by sufficient Witnesses of the same Time (that is, such as for their judgement and fidelity are approved) are not to be rejected as improbable, much less as impossible. For, seeing God is Omniscient and Omnipotent,

potent, why can he not either signifie what he knows, or do what he pleaseth, even beyound the Common Order of Nature, which, as it was at first constituted by Himself, so is it by the right of Creation still subject to Him. If any one say, That some such things might also proceed from Intelligences inferior to God; it may be granted: but this opens the way for a more easie belief, that the same might be done by God. And what those Intelligences do, God, we may think, either doth by them, or in his Wisdom permitteth. Seeing in Kingdoms and Commonwealths well establish'd, nothing is wont to be done beside the Common Laws, unless by the Will of the Supreme Governor. *Obj.* *Ans.*

XIV. Principally among the Jews: which are commended to belief by the duration of their Religion.

Now that some Miracles have indeed been done; if we doubt of the faith of other Histories, even the Judaical Religion may easily evince alone: Which being long since destitute of all humane support, yea exposed to contempt and derision, perdures * unto this day, through almost all parts of the world: when as other Religions all (except the Christian, which is as it were the perfection of the Jewish) are either

* *Vid. Josep. 1. Cont. Apion. & Hecatæo.*

either vanish'd, so soon as Force, and the Authority of the Secular Arm withdrew it self, as all Pagan Religions; or else, are yet upheld by the same Arm, as Mahumetism. If the cause be enquir'd, Why the Judaic Religion took so deep Roots in the mindes of all the Hebrews, that it cannot be extirpated: No Reason can be adferred or imagined, but this; That the present Jews from their Parents, as they from theirs, and so forward, until we arrive at those who liv'd in *Moses* and *Joshua*'s time, by certain and constant Tradition have received those Miracles; which, as in other places, so especially at their coming out of *Egypt*, and in the Wilderness, and in their entrance into *Canaan*, had happened; and whereof those their Progenitors were eye-witnesses. Otherwise, it is incredible that a People, contumacious and stiff enough, would submit their Necks to the Yoke of a Law, made heavy by so many Ceremonies; or, that intelligent Men, among all the Marks of Religion, which humane Reason might invent, should single out Circumcision: a Mark, which could neither be admitted without grievous pain, and was derided by all strangers; nor had

Qu.

Ans.

had any thing in it to commend it self, beside God the Author.

And *Moſes* Books, wherein thoſe Miracles are recorded, are of certain credit: not onely, becauſe there hath been a perpetual Fame among the Hebrews, that He was commended by the Oracle of God, and made A Leader of his People; but alſo, becauſe it is ſure enough, He was neither ſtudious of his own Glory, nor partial to his own Poſterity; having laid open his own ſins, wch he might have conceal'd, & aſſigned the Royal Dignity and the Prieſthood to others; his own Children being left among the common Levites. All which declares, he had no reaſon to deceive us. Neither doth he affect any coloured or illecebrous ſpeech, ſuch as Deceivers uſe, but plain and ſimple, and agreeable to the matter he relateth. Adde the indubitate Antiquity of *Moſes* Writings; with which, no other in the world can be compared. Whereof this is one Argument, That the Grecians, the Parents of all learning to other Nations, confeſs themſelves to have received their letters * from ſtrangers. Which letters, for their order and name, and their ancient figures too, acknowledge

XV. By the veracity and antiquity of *Moſes*.

* *Cadmi Phœnicea ſigna.* Tacit.

ledge their Descent from the Syriac or Hebrew. As also, the old *Attic* Laws, whence the Roman were in after-time deriv'd, drew their Original from the Laws of *Moses*.

a *Vid. De Jure belli. l. 2. c. 1, §. 12.*

XVI.

By the Testimonies of Aliens.

Besides all this, we have the Testimonies of many Aliens to the Jews Religion, to evidence, That the things written by *Moses* were in old time proclaimed by Fame, spread over all Nations. I will set down some particulars, wherein the most Ancient Heathen Writers are his Seconds; That the world had a beginning; and out of *Chaos* were formed all Creatures; and last of all Man, after Gods Image, to whom Dominion over the rest was given: That all things were made by the Word: That the Sun is not the primigeneous Light, but the Receptacle thereof: And above the Stars are Mansions Divine, wherein is light perpetual: That God is the most Ancient, and descended of none: The World most beautiful, as the Work of God: That the Darkness was before the Light, and therefore did the Nations, most observant of Old Customs, account their Time by Nights: That there is one God most high, by whom all things were

b *Vid. Euseb. l. 2. prep. c. 10.*

c *Vid. Ovid. Metam. l. 1.*

d *Cæsar de Bell. G. lib. 6.*

were made in order; from whom the Stars have their brightness, and moving Creatures have Life and Spirit[e] infused in them: And that man was fashioned out of the Clay, and all the work was finished in seven dayes. Whence many Nations digested their Time into Weeks, and had the Seventh[f] day in honor: That, at first, Men lived in great Innocency and Simplicity, and went naked, and lasted a Thousand years; whence the Golden Age of the Poets: The History of *Adam* and *Eve*; of the Tree, and of the Serpent: That Man were favored by God with divine[g] Visions, until the frequency and magnitude of their offences, as it were, secluded God and his ministring Spirits from their familiar commerce: The wildeness of the Gyants; The Deluge, from whence the Nations reckon their Time, calling what went before[h] unknown: The Ark, and the Dove and the Raven: The place where the Ark rested; The burning of[i] *Sodom*; Circumcision; The History of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob* and *Joseph*; and other particulars are extant in sundry ancient Heathen Authors. In the most of them is celebrated *Moses*

e *Spiritus intus alit. Virg. Æn. 6.*

f *Lux septima Sancta. Clem. ex Hesiodo.*

g *Catull. Epithal.*

h *Vid. Censorin.*

i *Diodor. Sicul. lib. 19.*

k *Longin. de subl. Justin. ex Treg. Tacit. Juven.*

Moses and his Acts. And truly, no considering man will be easily perswaded that *Moses*, who had not the Egyptians onely, but many other Nations for his Enemies, would dare to publish of the Worlds Original; and the most ancient Occurrences, what might be refuted either by former Writings, or was opposite to the common belief; or that he would adventure to relate things of his own Time, which might be refelled by the Testimonies of Many then alive. The old Jews are also honorably mentioned for their Piety and their Justice. And it is not needful to repeat what is found concerning *Joshua* and others, conformant to the Hebrew Story. For, whosoever gives faith to *Moses* (which no man without immodesty can deny him) he will certainly believe, that eminent Miracles were of old wrought by the Divine Power: which is the point we here especially insist on.

XVII. Miracles after *Moses* of no less credit.

The Miracles in after-times, as of *Elias*, *Elisha*, and of others, are the more clear from any suspition, because in those times *Judea* was more known: and being in the *Ordure* of her Neighbours for diversity of Religion, it had been very

very easie for them to have repressed the fame of any lye at the first birth. The History of *Jonas* [l] and the Whale is in Heathen Writers, but that the name of *Hercules* is thrust in, upon whom, for his renown, they were wont to father all wonders, as *Tacitus* observes. Certainly, that enemy of Jews as well as Christians, [m] *Julian*, was by the Evidence of History enforced to confess, That men endued with a divine Spirit had lived among the Hebrews; and, that fire came down from Heaven upon the Sacrifices of *Moses* and *Elias*. And here we must note, Not onely grievous [n] punishments, amongst the Jews, were appointed for them that falsly arrogated the Prophets part unto themselves; but many Kings, who that way might have procured to themselves great Authority; many very learned men, such as *Esdras* and others, never durst assume unto them that honor; nor any man at all, for some [o] Ages before the Time of Jesus. Moreover, it was impossible that so many Thousand people could be deceived in the asseveration of a publike, and as it were perpetual Prodigy; I mean that Oracle, which shined forth out of the Pectorall of

[l] Tzetz. in Lycoph.

[m] Apud Cyrill. l. 3. & l. 10.

[n] Deut. 13. 3.

[o] Mac. 9. 27.

* Exod. 18. 30. & alibi. n Joseph. l. 3. 9.

* of the High Priest: which endured till the destruction of the first Temple, as the n Jews have ever believed, so firmly, that we must needs think, their Ancestors were most fully assured of it.

XVIII. Gods Providence is also proved by Predictions.

To the Argument from Miracles, is annexed another no less efficacious, from the Predictions of things to come. Very many of these are extant among the Hebrews, and that of truth undeniable: as, concerning his Orbity o, that should restore *Jericho*: concerning the destruction of *Bethels* Altar by a King, in name *Josiah*, three hundred p years and more, before it came to pass. So the name of *Cyrus* also, and his principal affairs were foreshewed by *Esaias*: the end of *Jerusalems* Siege by the *Chaldean* Army, by *Jeremias*: and by *Daniel*, the Translation of the Empire from the *Assyrians* to the *Medes* and *Persians*; from them to *Alexander* the *Macedonian*; whose Successors in part were the Families of *Lagus* and *Seleucus*: and, what Calamities the Hebrew people should receive from them, but most of all from *Antiochus* the Great. All this hath *Daniel* foretold so plainly, that *Porphyry* q comparing the Greek Histories, extant in his time,

o Compare *Josh.* 6. 26. 1 *Reg.* 16. 34.

p *Joseph. Antiq. l.* 10. c. 5. *Cap.* 39, &c. *Dan.* 2. &c.

q *Hieron. in Dan. passim.*

time, with those Prophecies, had no other Refuge, but to say, that the Prophecies ascribed to *Daniel* were written after the things were come to pass. Which is all one, as if you should say, the Works under *Virgils* name, were not written by him in the time of *Augustus*. For, of that we say, the *Hebrews* never made any more doubt, then the *Romans* of this. To these may be added many Oracles, and most famous, even among the *Mexicans* and *Peruans*, which foretold the Arrival of the *Spaniards* in those Countries, and the calamities thence ensuing.

V. *Acostam, & P Ciez m 2. Indic.*

XIX. And by other Arguments.

Hither may Dreams also be refer'd, not a few, and those so exactly agreeing with the Events, which in themselves and in their Causes were wholly unknown to the Dreamers, that they cannot, without some Touch of impudence, be refer'd to chance, or natural causes. Illustrious examples whereof *Tertullian* hath gathered out of most approved Authors, in his Book *de Anima*. Add unto those the [r] *Spectrums* which have not only been seen, but heard, to speak, as hath been related by Historians far enough from superstitious Credulity, and confirmed by witnesses of our own Age, who have lived in *Mexica* and other parts of *America*.

[r] *Cap. 45. V. Zuinger. Vol. 5. l. 4. de Insom.*

[s] *Flor. l. 4. c. 7 Plin ep. 7. 27 Val. Max. 1. 8.*

rica. Nor are we to slight those publick Tryals of the Truth by red-hot * Irons, which so many *German* Histories, and the Laws themselves have mentioned.

* *V. Fureti in Ivo. epist. 74.*

XX. Answer to an Object. that Miracles are not now.

Neither hath any Man reason to object, that such Miracles are not now seen in our Time, nor such predictions heard of. For, it is sufficient to the proof of divine Providence, that such things have been heretofore. Which Providence being made good, it followes, that we believe God doth as providently and wisely now forbear such things, as before he us'd them. Nor was it fit, the Laws given to the Universe touching the natural course of things, and uncertainty of future Events, should be easily and always transgressed; but then only, when there was a just and worthy Cause; as, when the worship of the true God, banisht almost out of all the world, had residence only in a corner of it, to wit, *Judæa*, and was to be often succoured and reinforced with new Aydes against the Impiety that laid Siege round about it: Or, when Christian Religion, of which we shall after make a peculiar Discourse, was, according to Gods Decree, to be first propagated over all the world.

XXI. Some are moved to doubt of the Divine

vine Providence, in Contemplation of the wickedness, wherewith as with a Deluge this Earth is overwhelmed to restrain and curb the flowings hereof. This, say they, were a work worthy of the Divine Providence, if there be any. But the Answer's easie. Seeing God, in the Creation, gave Man a liberty to do well or ill (necessary and immutable goodness being reserved as his own Prerogative) it was not fit, He should put an Impediment to evil Actions, contrary to that liberty. And yet, whatsoever Impediments were consistent with that liberty, (as the constitution and promulgation of a Law, internal and external Admonitions, with Threats also and Promises,) none of these is pretermitted by God. And moreover, He permitteth not the Effects of malice to range whither they would, but restrains them so, that Government might never be overthrown, nor the knowledg of divine Laws utterly extinguisht. Neither are the wickednesses permitted altogether without fruit, being ordered, as we touched afore, either for the punishment of other Men no less wicked; or for the Correction of such as fall from the way of vertue; or for the Tryal of their patience and constancy, who have

And to another object, that there is so much wickedness.

Tertul. adv. Marcion. 2. Orig. cont. Cels. 4. Virtuti humanæ si auferas libertatem, ipsam ejus naturam sustulerit.

made good progreſs in it. Laſtly, they alſo whoſe wickedneſſes are winked at for a time, are wont to pay dearly for the forbearance of their puniſhment; and muſt ſuffer what God ſhall command, becauſe what He commanded they would not do.

XXII. Even to the oppreſſion of good men many times, which objection is retorted.

But if they that ſee ſo much wickedneſs can ſee no vengeance follow it; &, if ſome good Men (whereat weak Minds are uſually offended) oppreſſed by the violence of the wicked, not only lead a troublesome life, but often undergo death, and that an infamous death: It doth not preſently follow, that the providence of God is vaniſht out of the world, which hath been ſhewed above by ſo convincing arguments; but rather, with the wiſeſt of Men we muſt collect thus: Seeing God takes care of Actions, and is juſt, and yet wicked things are acted, Certainly we muſt expect ſome Judgment after this life, to the end, neither notorious Improbity may eſcape without puniſhment, nor eminent Vertue go without Comfort and Reward.

XXIII. That the ſoul remains after the body, proved by Tradition.

For the Confirmation whereof we muſt alſo prove that Souls remain after their Bodies. This truth, by moſt ancient Tradition from our firſt parents

(from

(from whom else?) hath been derived even to all Civil Nations: as it appears by *Homers* verses, and by Philosophers, not *Greek* only, but the old *Gallick*, whom they called *Druids*, and of the *Indian Brackmans*; and by what, many [t] Writers have delivered concerning the *Egyptians* and *Thracians* and *Germans* too. Moreover, of the divine judgment after this life, we see many Testimonies were extant among the *Greeks*, *Egyptians*, *Indians*, as good Authors do relate. Whereto may be added the Tradition of the worlds Conflagration. A token whereof the [u] Astrologers have observed, the Suns nearer approach unto the Earth. And when our Men came first into the *Canaries*, *America*, and other remote places, they found there also the same Opinion of the souls, and of judgment to come.

t *Justin Martyr Apolog. 2. Cæsar lib. 6. Gal. Strab. l. 4 & 15. Porphyr. de Animal.*

u *Copernic. Rev. l. 3. l. 16.*

Nor indeed can there be found any Argument from nature, which may refell this so ancient, so common Tradition. For, all things that we see perish, do either perish by opposition of the contrary being more prevalent, as cold by the force of heat; or else, by subtraction of the subject, whereon they depend, as the figure of a Glass, the Glass being broken; or, by de-

XXIV. No reason repugnant to it.

fect of the cauſe efficient, as light by the abſence of the Sun. Now, of the Soul can none of theſe be verified; not the firſt; becauſe the Soul hath no contrary; yea, ſuch is the nature thereof, to embrace contraries all at once in her boſom, after her manner, that is, intellectually. Not the ſecond: becauſe the ſoul depends not upon any ſubject. If ſhe had any, it would be the body; but the body is not, it is manifeſt; becauſe, when bodily ſtrength decayeth, the ſoul continueth freſh and active: And, the faculties of the Body are hurt by too great excellency of the object, as the ſight by the Sun's brightneſs: but the Soul, the more converſant it is about noble objects, as about figures abſtract from matter, about Univerſals, the more perfection it obteineth. Again, ſuch is the nature of the Body, that the faculties thereof are buſied about things determined by time and place: but the ſoul is employed alſo about that which is infinite and eternal. Add, that the ſoul overcometh the affections of the body, and commands the body to abide torment and death. And, The Actions which raiſe the ſoul moſt above the body, are the moſt excellent. Wherefore, ſeeing the Soul dependeth not on the

Ariſt. de Anima lib. 1. cap. 4. & lib. 3. cap. 4.

the Body in operation, neither doth its Essence depend thereon. For, we have no other way to understand the nature of things invisible, but by their operations. Nor can the Soul perish in the third manner. For, no efficient Cause can be given, whence the Soul hath a perpetual Emanation. Nor the parents: because after they are dead, the Children live. And, if there must be any Cause, it can be no other then the first and universal Cause. Which Cause, as it is never deficient in respect of power, so, that it is deficient in respect of will, *i. e.* that God wills, the Soul should perish, can be proved by no Argument.

XXV. Many reasons in favour of it.

Yea, there are Arguments of no small moment to the contrary: namely, that unto Man is given a Dominion over his own actions, and over the creatures: that He is capable of the knowledge of God and of the immortal [x] natures: that he hath a conscience of such power, as to comfort him in good Actions, how painful soever, and sustein him with hope; and torment him for evil Actions, especially upon his Death-bed, as it were upon apprehension of impending judgment. Which force of Conscience, even the most mighty Tyrants, oft-times

[x] *Nulli naturæ mortali immortalis natura cognita est. Salust. Philos.*

Vid. Tac & Suet. de Tib.

have not been able, when they most desired, to suppress within themselves, as appears by many Examples.

XXVI. Felicity after this life. For the attaining whereof, we must enquire after the true Religion.

Now, to conclude, if both the Soul it self be of that nature, which hath in it no cause of corruption; and God hath given us many Evidences of his pleasure, that the Soul shall survive the Body; surely, no end can be proposed to a Man more worthy of him, then the felicity of that State. And this is that which *Plato* and the *Pythagoreans* said was the Good of a Man, to be made most like unto God[y]. What that Felicity is, and how it may be attained, Men may indeed search after by Conjectures; but, if God hath revealed any thing concerning it, that ought to be held for most true and certain. Which Revelation, seeing Christ hath brought into the world, we shall speak of Him in our next Discourse.

[y] So the *Stoicks*, out of *Plato*, as *Clemens Alex. Strom. 5.*

SUMMA-

SUMMARY
Of the II^d Discourse.

I.

THat JESUS *once lived.*

II.

That He was put to an ignominious Death.

III.

Yet after death was worshipt by understanding men: For no other cause but his Miracles.

IV.

Which Miracles could not be ascrib'd to nature.

V.

Nor were they Impostures.

VI.

Nor the works of an evil Spirit.

VII.

And, if of a good Spirit, then from God. And to what end.

VIII.

For testimony to the Gospel.

IX.

The Miracle of the Resurrection confirm'd by sufficient Witnesses.

X.

What they gained by their Testimony to the Truth: Nothing but persecution here.

XI.

Answer to an Objection, of the Impossibility of the Resurrection.

XII.

The Resurrection granted, evinceth the Truth of JESUS doctrine.

XIII.

That the Christian Religion excells all other.

XIV.

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XVI.

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XVII.

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XVIII.

Of the Conjunction of Male and Female.

XIX.

Of the use of Temporall Goods.

XX.

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XXI.

XXI.
Answer to an Objection, of the Controversies amongst Christians.

XXII.
Farther of the excellency of Christian Religion, from the eminency of the Master.

XXIII.
From the Admirable Propagation of this Religion.

XXIV.
The Infirmity and Simplicity of the first Teachers of it.

XXV.
The Great impediments to hinder men from embracing and from professing it.

XXVI.
The Conclusion, maintaining the former Proofs.

II. DISCOURSE

of CHRIST, *his Miracles and Doctrine.*

THat Jesus of *Nazareth* sometime lived in *Judæa*, *Tiberius* being Emperour of *Rome*, not only the Christians, dispersed over all the world, do most constantly profess; but the Jews also, that are now, and that have ever written since those times. The same is testified by the *Pagans* too, that is, the Writers neither of the Jewish nor of the Christian Religion, as [a] *Suetonius*, [b] *Tacitus*, the yonger [c] *Pliny* and many after them.

I. That Jesus lived once.

a *Claud. c. 25.*
b *Lib. 15.*
c *Epist. 97. l. 10.*

That the same Jesus, by *Pontius Pilate* President of *Judæa*, was affixed to the Cross, all Christians likewise, although it might seem ignominious to the servants of such a Lord, confess. The [d] Jews confess it too, though not ignorant, how for that reason, because their Ancestors were the

II. That he was put to an ignominious death.

d *Benjam. in Itinerario.*

the Authors of *Pilates* act, they lye under the most heavy odium of all Christians, under whose power they live scattered in several places. And the *Pagan* Writers, whom we have mentioned, have recorded the same. Yea, a long time after, were extant the [e] Acts of *Pilate*, wherein 'twas evident: unto which Acts the Christians did sometimes make their Appeal. Neither was this ever questioned by *Julian*, or other oppoſers of Christianity. So that, no History can be produced more certain then this, approved by the united testimonies, I say not of Christians, but of whole nations, otherwise disagreeing from one another. This being thus, yet we see him to be worshipped, as Lord, through the Regions of the world farthest distant: nor in our age only, or the ages last past, but in the most ancient times, even till we come to that time immediate after the thing it self was done: that is, under the Empire of *Nero*: wherein, a great number of the Worshippers of Christ were Martyr'd for that profession, as *Tacitus* and others testify. Amongst which worshippers always were very many that wanted neither judgment nor learning; namely, (to say nothing of the Jews) [d] *Sergius* the Governor of *Cyprus*,

[e] *Vid. Epiph. in Tessaresc.*

III. Yet, after death was worshipped by understanding men. For no other cause but his miracles.

[d] *Chrysost. ad 2 Cor. 7.*

Cyprus, [f] *Dionysius the Areopagite*, [g] *Polycarpus*, [h] *Justin*, [i] *Irenæus*, [k] *Athenagoras*, [l] *Origen*, [m] *Tertullian*, [n] *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and many more. Who being men of such excellent parts, why they should devote themselves to the worship of a man, put to an ignominious death, especially being almost all bred up in other Religions, nor were assured to the Christian by any temptation either of honor or profit; there can be no account given, but only this, that by diligent inquisition, such as becomes prudent men in a business of the greatest concernment, they had found the fame was true and verified by sufficient witnesses, which was spread abroad of his miraculous works: as, of the sick healed by a word only of his mouth; and openly, in grievous and inveterate diseases: of sight restored to the man that was born blind: of the loaves multiplyed more then once to feed many thousands, which were witnesses thereof: of dead men raised again to life, and many more of the same nature. And this Fame sprang from so certain and undoubted an Original, that, as the *Hebrews* in their *Talmud* openly confess; so [o] *Celsus* and [p] *Julian*, when they wrote against the Christians, had not the boldness

f *Act.* 17. 34.
g *Martyr. An.* 169.
h *Euseb. An.* 147.
i *Florin.* 183
k *Flor.* 180.
l *Flor.* 230.
m *Celeber.* 208
n *Circa' idem temp. vid. Euseb.*

o *Apud Orig. l.* 2. *Credidisti eum esse Dei filium, ideo quod claudos & cæcos sanavit.*
p *Apud Cyril. l.* 6.

ness to deny, some Miracles were wrought by the hand of Christ.

IV. Which Miracles could not be ascribed to nature.

Now it is clear as the Sun, that those works were not done by natural force, both because they are called Miracles or Prodigies; and because by the force of nature it is impossible, that by a word of the Mouth only, or a touch of the hand, grievous diseases should be cured, and that upon the sudden. Again if those works might have been in some sort referred to natural efficacy, certainly They that were the professt enemies either of Christ himself living on the earth, or of the Gospel, he left behind him, would have told us so long since.

V. Nor were they Impostures. q Act. 26. 26 Luc. 12. 1.

By an Argument of Kin to the former, we collect, They were not like unto Impostures done in appearance only: because most of the works were done in view of the q people and of many learned men among the people, such as had wit enough, and malice enough to observe all the actions of Christ with curiosity. Whereto we add, that the like works were often repeated, and the effects not momentaneous but permanent. These things being duly weighed, it clearly followes (which the Jews also confess) these works proceeded from some vertue

more

more then humane, that is, from some spirit either good or evil.

But, from an evil spirit these works proceeded not, is hence proved, because the doctrine of Christ, for confirmation whereof the works were done, is the overthrow of evil spirits; whom it forbids us to worship; and drawes us away from all pollutions wherewith the evil spirits are delighted. And by experience we see, whersoever that doctrine is once received, the worship of Devils and [r] Magick Arts do forthwith vanish, and the one true God is served with detestation of the Devils; whose power and force was broken by the coming of Christ, as [s] *Porphyry* himself acknowledgeth. Neither is it credible that any evil spirit would be so imprudent, to effect such things, and that very oft, whereby no honour, no profit could redound unto himself, but on the contrary very much incommodity and disgrace. And it no way becomes the wisdom of God neither, nor his goodness, to believe he would permit any cunning Devil to impose upon and deceive men, in whom was found no guile, and that feared him; such as were the first Disciples of Christ, as both the unblamableness of their Conversation, and the many

VI. Nor the works of an evil spirit.

r *Act.* 19. 19.

s *Apud Euseb. præpar. l.* 5. 1. *Ex quo Jesus coli cœptus est, publicam Deorum opem nemo sensit.*

many calamities endured by them, only for conscience sake, do evidently declare.

VII. And if of a good spirit, then from God, and to what end.

But if you say the works of Christ proceeded from good spirits yet inferiour to God, you do acknowled, They pleased God, and pertained to the honour of God; because the good spirits do nothing but what is acceptable in the sight of God, and tendeth to his Glory, (to say nothing of this, that some of Christs works do plainly point at God the Authour, as the restoring of sundry dead men to life again.) But now, God neither doth miracles, nor suffers them to be done without cause. For this is the part of a wise Law-maker, not to recede from his own Laws without some reason, and that of moment.

VIII. For testimony to the Gospel.

Now there can be no other reason given, why these things were done, beside that alleaged by Christ, The bearing witness to his doctrine. Neither could any other cause be conceived in the mind of the Beholders. Amongst whom, there being many (as we said) of a pious Disposition, that Gods intent was to impose upon them, is impiety to believe. And upon this ground very many of the Jews that lived about the times of Jesus, even they

they that could not be induced to omit any part of *Moſes* Law, (the [t] *Nazarens* and the *Ebionites*) did nevertheleſs honour *Jeſus* as a Maſter ſent from heaven.

[t] *Vid. Act.* 15. *Re.* 15. [u] *V. Epiphan. Act.* 24. 5.

As from the Miracles wrought by Chriſt in his life-time, ſo we argue from that greateſt of Miracles, after his Croſs, Death and Burial, His Reſurrection, and return unto life again. For this, not only as true, but as the principal foundation of their faith, the Chriſtians of all times and places build upon: which had been impoſſible, had not the firſt Teachers of Chriſtian faith certainly perſwaded their auditors, that the thing was ſo done. Neither could they have thus perſwaded men indued with any judgment, unleſs they did affirm themſelves *Eye*-witneſſes. Without which affirmation, no man, though of mean underſtanding, would have given any credit to them, eſpecially at thoſe times, when they muſt purchaſe their belief ſo dearly, at the coſt of the greateſt dangers, and perſecutions. That this was affirmed by them with great conſtancy, even their own books and the writings of other men [x] do ſhew. Yea 'tis in their books, They appealed to the teſtimony of [y] five hundred witneſſes. It is not a cuſtom, lyars uſe, to appeal to witneſſes

IX. The Miracle of the Reſurrection, confirmed by ſufficient witneſs.

[x] *Etiam Celſi. Vid. Orig. l.* 1.

[y] 1 *Cor.* 15. 9.

witnesses so many: nor can it be that so many should conspire to bring in an evidence to falshood. Had there been no other Witnesses, but those first most famous Propagators of the Christian doctrine, Their testimony had been sufficient. No man is wicked *gratis* and for nothing. Honour, they could not hope for by the lye, seeing all preferment was in the hand of Pagans or Jews, from both they received nothing but ignominy and reproach: not riches, seeing on the contrary, this profession was punished with confiscation of their goods, if they had any; and without that, they could not give themselves to the Ministery of the Gospel, unless they did put off the care of their temporal estate. Nor could any other conveniences of this life prevail with them to tell a lye, since by the very preaching of the Gospel, they exposed themselves to labours, to hunger, to thirst, to stripes, to prison. A naked fame among their own party was not *tanti*, not of so much reckoning, that therefore simple men, and whose life and doctrine were far from pride, should undertake so great a burden of calamities. Nor could they at any hand hope for so great a progress of their doctrine,

X. What they gained by their testimony to the truth. Nothing but peelecution here.

ſtrine, obſtructed both by the general averſation of men latent only upon their profit, and by the Authority of Rulers every where, unleſs by ſome divine promiſe. Add thereunto, that this ſame, what ere it was, they could not imagine would be of any long continuance, when (God on purpoſe hiding his counſell from them about this) the end of the whole world they waited for as near [2] approaching: which their own and the writings of the after-Chriſtians make moſt manifeſt. It remains then, that they be ſaid to have told a lye in defence of their Religion; which, if we weigh the matter in an equal ballance, is impoſſible to be ſaid. For either they did in their hearts believe the Religion to be true, or they did not believe. Had they not believed it true, yea, had they not believed it exceeding good, never would they, omitting other Religions more ſafe and more honoured, have choſen this. And though true, they would not have profeſt it, had they not believed the profeſſion to be neceſſary; eſpecially foreſeeing eaſily, what they quickly learned by ſad experience, that this profeſſion drew after it an infinite train of deaths and perſecutions: which to occaſion, without juſt cauſe, was

[2] *Vid. 1 Theſ. 4. 15, 16. 1 Cor. 15. 52. Tertul. de Monog. Quum magis nunc tempus in collecto ſitum ſit.*

was no less crime then Homicide. But if they believed their Religion to be true, yea and the best Religion under Heaven, and necessary to be profest, also after their Masters death; surely this could by no wise come to pass, had their Masters promise of his Resurrection been of none effect. For this [a] frustration had been enough to have beaten out of any sensible mans head, & to have made abortive the Faith that was preconceived. Again, all Religion, above all the Christian, [b] prohibiteth lying and false witness, especially in things Divine. They could not therefore by love of Religion, much less of such a Religion, be moved to tell a lye. Moreover, They were Men of so pure a life, that their Adversaries could not spot them: towhom nothing is objected, but [c] simplicity alone, and shee's of so fair a nature, that she cannot make a lye. Lastly, There was not a man of them, that suffered not most grievous persecutions, for that profession of Jesus raised from the dead: many of them for their testimony were rewarded with most exquisite torments. But now, that any one with his sense about him, should suffer such things for an opinion, that indeed is possible; but, for a false thing which he

a *Vid. Chrysostom. ad 1 Cor. 1. in fine.*

b *Mat. 22. 36. Jo. 8. 44, 45. Eph. 4. 25. Rom. 9. 1.*

c *Celsus apud Origin. l. 1.*

he knows to be false, to suffer such extremities; not some one man, but very many for whose interest it is not, that credit be given unto it, this is plainly incredible. The Christians, we are sure, were not mad. Their Lives and their Writings shew they were sober men. And what we have spoken of those first, the same is also true of *Paul*, who [d] declared openly, that he had seen Christ reigning now in heaven, yet wanted he none of the Jewish [e] learning, nor was he out of hope of honours, if he had gone forward in his Fathers steps: But, on the contrary part, he could expect nothing, but hatred of his Kindred, Travels over all the world, difficulty, perilous, and laborious, and last of all Death and Infamy.

[d] 1 Cor. 15. 9. 2 Cor. 12. 4.

[e] Act. 22. 3. vid. Epiphan.

XI. Answer to an objection concerning the impossibility of the Resurrection.

Verily no man can deny Faith to such testimonies, unless he say, The thing it self is like those that imply a contradiction, impossible to be done; which cannot be said in our case. It might indeed, if one should affirm, the same man alive and dead at the same time. But that a Dead man should be restored to life, by his efficacy, who at first gave life to man, why this should be accounted impossible there is no cause. Nor have wise men believed it impossible. For *Plato* hath written

written the same of [f]*Er* the *Armenian*, *Heraclides Ponticus* [g] of a certain Woman, *Herodotus* of [h] *Aristæus*, *Plutarch* [i] of another. Which, whether true or false, shew that learned men have thought the Resurrection no impossible thing.

f *Plat. de Rep. 10. Val. Max. 1. 8 Plut. Symp. 9. 5. Macrob. init. Som.*

g *Apud Plin. 7. 52.* h *Plin. 7. 52.* i *L. de sera vind.*

XII. The Resurrection granted evinceth the Truth of Jesus Doctrine.

Now if it be neither impossible that Christ to have returned to life, and evidenced by sufficient Testimonies (when with the Jewish Master *Bechai* being convinced acknowledged the truth thereof) and the same Christ, as both his own followers and other men confess, published a new Doctrine, as by divine Authority it truly follows, that the Doctrine is true: because, it cannot consist neither with the justice nor wisdom of God, to so excellent a way to honour him, who had been guilty of falshood in so great a matter: especially when he himself, before his death, foretold his Disciples of his death, and the kind of death, and his Resurrection also, adding these things should so come to pass, for a [k] confirmation of his Doctrine.

k *Jo. 17. Lu. 24. 46, 47*

XIII. That the Christian Religion excels all other.

The former Arguments are drawn from the matter of fact, let us now come to those that proceed from the nature

the Doctrine. Surely, either all the worſhip of God is wholly to be rejected, (which he will never agree to, who believes, there is a God, and one that hath care of the world; and who conſiders Man, endued both with excellent underſtanding and with a power to chuſe moral Good and Evil, and therefore having in himſelf matter as of Reward, ſo of Puniſhment likewiſe) or elſe this Religion is to be admitted not only for the evidence of Fact whereof we have ſpoken, but alſo for the things intrinſecal, and of the very nature of the Religion it ſelf. For no other in any age or nation, can be produced, either more excellent in reward, or more perfect in precepts, or, for the manner whereby it was commanded to be ſpread, more admirable.

XIV. The excellency of the Reward propoſed.

To begin with the Reward, that is, the end propoſed to Man; becauſe that (as we uſe to ſay) is firſt in intention, though laſt in execution; *Moſes* in the inſtitutes of the *Judaick* Religion, if we regard the expreſs Covenants of the Law, promiſed nothing above the good things [1] of this life, a fruitful land, plentiful ſtore, victory over enemies, long and healthful age, hopeful poſterity. What is beyond theſe, is veiled under

[1] *Vid. Deut. & Heb. 8.*

shadowes, or to be collected by wise and difficult ratiocination. For which cause many professors of the *Mosaick* Law, namely the *Sadduces*, [m] renounced all hope of good things to be attained after this life. Among the *Grecians*, who received their learning from the hands of the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*, They that conceived any hope of another life after the end of this, spake of it with much [n] hesitancy, as appears in the dissertations of [o] *Socrates*, in the writings of [p] *Tully*, [q] *Seneca*, and others. And when they sought Arguments for it, they found very little of certainty. For what they alleage, most of it holds no better for men, then [r] beasts. This being observed by some others, it is not much to be admired, if they devised a [s] transmigration of souls from Men into beasts, from beasts into Men. And this again being built on no certain testimonies, or arguments, and yet, it being clear that some end was proposed to man, others were inclined to say, that vertue is [t] reward to it self, and a wise man is happy enough even when he is tormented in the Bull of *Phalaris*.

m *Mat.* 22. 23. *Act.* 23. 8. *Animam putabant interire cum corporibus. Hieron. de Sadd.*

n *Chrysostom.* 1 *Cor.* 1. 25.

o *In Plat. Phæd. Hoc scito spem mihi esse venturum me ad viros bonos: quod tamen non nimium affirmaverim*

p *Tuscul.* 1.

q *Epist.* 64. *Et fortasse, quem putamus perisse, præmissus est.*

r *Ut illud: Quod se novet æternum est.*

v. *Lactant. l.* 7. *c.* 8. s *Ut Brachmanes olim, & nunc quoque: à quibus hausit Pyth gords & ejus Schola.* t *V. Tuscul.* 2. *& Lact. l.* 3. *c.* 27. *Augustin. ep.* 52.

But

But this also, and not without cause, displeased others, who were sensible enough, that where dangers, incommodities, torments and death are, there felicity, especially the highest, cannot dwell, unless men could content themselves with a sound of words without any reality. And therefore these men placed the supreme good and the end of man in such things as bring pleasure to the senses. But this Opinion too, is by very many, and that by sound arguments refuted, as an opinion that extinguisheth all honesty; some sparks or seeds whereof we have raked up in our mindes; and degradeth man, born and erected for higher things, into the rank of brutish Creatures, which with their down-cast looks regard nothing but what is earthly. In so many doubts and by-ways Man-kind went astray in that age, when Christ brought into the world the true knowledge of the end, promising his followers after this life, a life not only without death, without pain and trouble, but attended also with joy unspeakeable: and that, not only to a part of Man, that is, his soul; of whose hopeful felicity after this life, was extant partly some conjecture, partly tradition; but also to the body: with a

great deal of reason, that as the body, for the Divine Law, often suffers hurts, tortures, and death, so it should at last be partaker of the Repensation: Now the joys which are promised, are not vile, as banquets, which the gross *Jews* hope for after this life; and the pleasures of the Bed, which the [f] *Mahumetans* promise to themselves: These are proper to this frail life, Remedies of Mortality, the former for the conservation of particulars, the latter for the propagation of their kind: But the delights of the life to come, are perpetual vigor of body and more then Star-like Beauty; in the soul perfect understanding, even of God and his providence, and of what now lies hid: a will quiet and taken up with the fruition of God especially, and with the admiration and praise of him: briefly, all things better and greater far, then can be conceived by comparison of the best and greatest things we know in this world.

[f] *Alcoran. Azoar. 2. 5. 47.*

XV. An objection answered concerning the restitution of bodies once dissolved.

Here besides the Objection answered afore another is wont to be opposed as if it were impossible that the Bodies of men once dissolved should be framed again. But this is not grounded upon any reason. For, when as most of the Philosophers agree, that in all transmu-

tation

tations of things the matter ſtill remains, capable of divers forms, who can ſay, that either God is ignorant in what places, how diſtant ſoever, the parts of that matter are, which pertained unto any humane body; or that he wanteth Power to reduce and recompoſe the diſperſed particles, and to do that in his ſphere, which we ſee Chymiſts do in their fornaces and veſſels, collect the congenerous parts of divided nature? Neither are there wanting in natural things examples to ſhew how bodies after various changes are reſtored to their original form, as we underſtand by the ſeed of Trees and living Creatures. Nor is that knot which many tye inſoluble concerning humane bodies converted to the food of wild beaſts or cattel, who, being thus fed, become after food for Man. For the greateſt part of what we eat, is not changed into the ſubſtance of our body, but goes to excrement or the acceſſions of the body, ſuch as are flegm and choler; and of that, which is nutritive, much is ſpent by diſeaſes, by the internal heat, by the ambient ayre. This being thus, God, who by his providence ſo keeps the kinds of mute Creatures, that none of them periſheth, can doubtleſs by a ſingular care watch over

humane bodies, that whatsoever thence goes to the food of other men, may no more be turned into their substance, then poysons or medicines: And the rather, because it is evident as it were by nature, that mans flesh was not given for mans food. If it be not so, but somewhat which was added to the later body, must again be taken from it, yet will not this make it a body not the same; for even in this life happens a greater change [a] of particles. Yea, and the [x] Butterfly is in the worm, and the substance of herbs or wine in some very little Quantity, whence they are again raised up to their former magnitude. Wherefore, seeing this and much more may be commodiously alleaged, we have no cause to account the restitution of a dissolved Body among things impossible, seeing also learned Men, [y] *Zoroaster* among the *Chaldeans*, almost all the [z] *Stoicks*, and among the *Peripatetick*s [a] *Theopompus* believed it not only possible, but that it should indeed come to pass.

[a] *Sen. ep. 58. Corpora nostra rapiuntur fluminum more: quicquid vides, currit cum tempore: nihil ex his quæ videmus manet. Ego ipse, dum loquor mutari ipsa, mutatus sum.*
[x] *Vid. Plin. l. 10. & 11. c. 32.*
[y] *Vid. Clem. Strom. 5.*
[z] *Nata. Carpentar.*
[a] *Diog. Laert. in init.*

XVI. The excellent sanctity of Christian precepts, And

The second thing wherein Christian Religion excells all other, that are, or have been, or can be imagined, is the exceeding sanctity of Precepts both in things pertaining to the worship of God, and

and the reſt. The *Pagan* Rites almoſt all the world over, as *Porphyrie* [b] ſhewes at large, and the Sea-voyages of our times do confirm, were full of cruelty. For in moſt places, the cuſtome was to appeaſe their Gods with humane [c] blood: a cuſtom, which neither the *Grecian* Learning, nor the *Roman* Laws took away. And thoſe moſt ſacred Myſteries either of *Ceres*, or *Liber Pater*, were moſt full of all obſcenity, as appeared after the veil of their ſecrecy was taken off: which *Clemens* [d] *Alexandrinus* and others [e] largely declare. Moreover the Days conſecrate to the honour of their Gods, were celebrated with ſuch ſpectacles, as *Cato* [f] was aſhamed to be preſent at. Now although the *Judaic* Religion had in it nothing unlawful or undecent, yet, to keep the people, who were prone to Idolatry, from departing from the truth, it was encumbred with many precepts of ſuch things, as of themſelves were neither good nor evil: namely, ſlaying of beaſts, Circumciſion, the exact reſt of the Sabbath, and the Interdiction of ſundry ſorts of meats. Some whereof the *Mahumetans* have borrowed, adding to them the prohibition of wine; But the Chriſtian Religion teacheth to worſhip God the pu-

first above the worſhip of God.

b *De abſtinent. unde Cyril. 4. cont. Jul.*

c *De Britannis vid. Plin. 36. 1.*

d *In Protrepticâ.*

e *Arnobius maximè.*

f *Martial. ep. 1. Col. 10. 13. Val. Max. 2. 10.*

rest spirit, with spiritual Purity [g] and with such works [h] as of their own nature, without any command, are most fit to be done. So, it commandeth, not the flesh [i] to be circumcised, but the lusts of the flesh: not to cease from all work, but that which is [k] unlawful: not to offer unto God the blood, or fat of beasts, but if need be, to sacrifice our own blood [l] for a testimony to his truth: and to believe, what we give of our estates to the poor is given to [m] God: not to abstain from certain kinds of meats and drinks, but to use both with that moderation, [n] which is convenient for our health; and sometimes, by fasting [o] to subdue the body to the soul, that it may be the better raised to the things above. But the chief part of Religion is manifestly placed in a pious [p] confidence, whereby we, being composed to faithfull [q] obedience, rely wholly upon [r] God, and without doubting [s] believe his promises: whence also [t] hope springs, and sincere love, both to God and our neighbour, so that we observe his Lawes, not [u] servilely, for fear of punishment, but to please him, and have him according to his infinite Goodness, our [x] Father and Rewarder. Farther, we are commanded to [y] pray, not that we may

g Jo. 4.24.
h Rom. 12.1. Phil. 4.8.
i Rom. 2. 28. 29. Phil. 3. 3.
k 1 Cor. 5. 8.
l 1 Cor. 10. 16. Heb. 12. 4. 1 Pet. 2 21.
m Mat. 6. 4. Luc. 12. 33. 2 Cor. 9. 7. Heb. 3. 6.
n Luc. 21. 34. Rom. 13. 13.
o Mat. 6. 18. 1 Cor. 7. 5.
p Ps 70. 12. 44.
q Luc. 11. 28. Jo. 13. 17. Rom 1. 5.
r Mat. 21. 21.
s 2 Tim 1. 12.
t Rom. 4. 20. 2 Cor. 7. 1. 1 Heb 6. 2. Gal. 5. 6.
u Rom. 18. 15. Heb. 12. 28.
x Rom. 8. Col. 3. 24
y Mat. 6. 10.

may obtain riches or honours, and other ſecular things that have proved hurtful to thoſe that have moſt deſired them; but firſt the things which are for Gods Glory; and for our ſelves, ſo much of this worlds good, as nature wants, leaving the reſt to Divine Providence, not overmuch caring, which way God ſhall diſpoſe of them: But the things which lead unto eternity, thoſe we are taught to ask with all fervency, that is, pardon of all our ſins paſt, the aid of the Spirit for the time to come; whereby fortified againſt all terrours and temptations, we may perſevere in the way of Piety unto the end. This is the worſhip of God in Chriſtian Religion: then which certainly nothing can poſſibly be deviſed more worthy of God.

XVII. Next about the offices of humanity we owe to our neighbour, though he hath treſpaſt us.

Of the ſame race are the duties required toward our neighbour. The Religion of *Mahumet* born in Arms breaths nothing but Arms, and by Arms is propagated. So the *Laconian* Inſtitutes, moſt commended among the *Grecians*, even by *Apollo's* Oracle, were all directed to puiſſance in War, as * *Ariſtotle* notes, and blames them for it. But the ſame *Ariſtotle* ſaith amiſs himſelf, That War is natural againſt *Barbarians*, when the con-

* *Polit.* 7. 14.

trary is true, that nature hath constituted amity and society amongst all Men. For what is more unjust [x] then for single acts of murder to be punished with death, and the destructions of whole nations as an honourable atchievement to be glorified with triumphs? And yet by what other means but by Wars, oftentimes openly [w] unjust (as themselves confess of the War upon [y] *Sardinia* and *Cyprus*) did that so celebrious City of *Rome*, rise to so great renown? And indeed generally, as most worthy Historians [z] have related, Robbery out of their own bounds, most nations accounted no dishonor. [a] *Aristotle* and *Cicero* make revenge a part of valour. The [b] *Gladiators* mutual slaughter were to the *Pagans* among their publick plays. To expose [c] their children was ordinary. The *Hebrews* truly had a better Law, a more holy discipline; yet being a people of unruly passions, some of their infirmities were winked at, or indulged, as their eagerness against the seven Nations [d], that had merited extirpation. Wherewith not contented, they had enlarged their hatred to all people

x *Senec. ep. 96. de ira. l. 2. 8.*

w *Si qua foret cellus fulvum quæ mitteret aurum, Hostis erat.* Petron.

y *Polyb. Hist. 3. 1. Florus 3. 9.*

z *Thucyd. l. 1. Justin. 43. 3.*

Apud veteres latrocinari adeo infame non erat, ut & gloriæ duceretur. Scholiast. in Odyss. T.

a *Nicomach. 4. 11.*

Servile, si contumeliose tractetur, id tolerare. Cic. 2. de invent. & ad Attic. *Odi hominem & odero; utinam ulcisci possem.*

b *Vid. Lact. l. 2. Tertul. de Spect. 19.* c *Justin. Apol.* x *Tertul. Apol. c. 9.* d *Exod. 34. 11, 12. Deut. 7. 1, 2.*

different

different from themselves: the marks whereof to this day appear in their prayers [e] conceived against the Christians: But to satiate their passion by the [f] judgment of retaliation, to kill the manslayer by the private hand of a Kinsman was permitted by Law. Now the Law of Christ wholly [g] forbids to return injury whether in word or deed, lest the malice, we reprove in other, we again approve by imitation: It commands to do good, to the good especially; but to the evil too, after Gods example, from whose Goodness we have received Sun, Stars, Ayr, Winds, Showers, as common gifts to all mankinde.

[e] *V. Libel. precum edit. Venetiis forma min.*
[f] *Levit. 24. 20. Deut. 19. 21.*
[g] *Mat. 5. 38. 44. 45.*

XVIII. Of the conjunction of Male and female.

The Conjunction of Male and Female, whereby mankinde is propagated, is a thing most worthy of the care of Laws. It is no wonder it was neglected by the *Pagans*, when the Gods whom they adored, are famous for their [h] Whoredomes and Adulteries. I might for modesty sake cover in silence the mixtures of Males with Males, according to the examples of their Gods, into whose number was reckon'd, upon that score, *Ganymed*, and afterward *Antinous*. The same Impurity is also frequent with the *Mahumitanes*, among the *Chynois* and other nations:

[h] *V. Clem. protrept. Arnobi. l. 4. Nazian. cont. Jul. Theodor. l. 3.*

tions it is allowed Lawful. And the *Greek* Philosophers [i] seem to have taken pains to impose upon a foul thing, a fair and comely title. Those *Greeks*, the most [k] eminent of them having praised a Community of women, what have they else done, but turned the whole city into a Common Stewes? The very Animals [l] some of them observe a kind of conjugal Covenant: how much more should the divinest Creature, Man? That He might not spring out of uncertain seed, and so the mutual affection, that nature hath kindled between the Parent and the children be utterly extinguished. The *Hebrew* Law forbids indeed all uncleanness, but allows one Man many wives, [m] and gives the Husband a Right to dismiss his wife [n] for every cause. Which at this day is in use among the *Mahumetans*, and was, of old, among the *Greeks* and *Latines*; with so great licence, that their wives were put out to use and lent for a time by the [o] *Laconians*, [p] and by *Cato*. But the most perfect Law of Christ pierceth to the very roots of vices, and condemneth him that hath but assaulted

i *Lucian. de Amor. Naz. 3. cont. Iu. Tertul. de Anim. Christianam sapientiam præsecens Socraticæ: Nec nova inferens dæmonia, sed vetera depellens; nec adolescentiam vitians, sed omni bono pudoris informans.*

k *Plato de Rep. 4.*

l *Plin. l. 10. 33. De palumbium castitate conjugali.*

V *Porphyr. de non esu An. 3.*

m *Deut. 17. 16, 17. Chrysost. 1 Cor. 11. Ioseph. An. 16. Mos nobis patrius eodem tempore plures habere uxores.*

n *Deut. 24. 1, 2, 3. Levit. 21. 14.*

o *Herodot. l. 6.*

p *Plutarch. in Cat. & Lycurgo.*

any

any womans chastity or desloured her with his lustful eyes, as [q] guilty in the judgment of God, who beholds the heart, of sin, desired though not performed. And seeing all true friendship is perpetual and indissoluble, justly hath it required That Tye to be such that contains, with the society of affections, the Communion of bodies [r] too, which without question doth more conduce also to the good education of the Children. Among the *Pagans* some few Nations were content with single Wives, as the *German* and *Romans*. This is the use of Christians; [s] that the affection which the wife entirely bestowes unto her husband may be paid with equal [t] retribution, and that the houshold government may be more rightly ordered under one Guide, [u] nor diverse Mothers bring in discord among the Children.

q *Mat.* 5. 28.

r *Mat.* 5. 32. 9. 9.

s 1 *Cor.* 7. 4. *Lactant.* 6. 23. *Hieron. adv. Oc.* a.

t *Ammian. de Persis, l.* 23. *Per libidines varias caritas dispersa topescit. V. & Salust. in Jugurth Omnes pariter viles. Et Caud. bel. Gild. Numero languet pietas.* u *Eurip. Androm.*

XIX. Of the use of temporal Goods.

To come to the use of such things as are commonly called Goods: we know, Thefts were permitted by some *Pagan* nations, namely the *Egyptians* [x] and *Spartans*; and they that permitted not the like to private persons made it their great Imploy-

x *Diod. Sic. l.* 1. *Plut. Lycurgo.*

ployment in publick, as the *Romans*: who must return again to their Cottages, as the *Roman* Orator [y] once said, if they did restore to every one their own. The *Hebrews* indeed did not such things: yet were they permitted to take use [z] of strangers, their disposition being favoured by their law, that promised riches [a] among the rest, to the observer of it. But the Christian Law not onely prohibits [b] all kind of injustice, and that with respect to all persons: but also forbids us to place our study [c] in those perishing things: because our mind is not able with sufficient diligence to attend the care of two severals, that do each require the whole man, and oft-times distract us diverse ways. And again, both in getting and keeping riches there is a sollicitude [d], that draws with it a kind of servitude and vexation, and so corrupteth the delight, we hope for out of riches: And the things wherewith nature is contented, are but few and those parable [e], without much labour or expence. Nevertheless if God shall indulge unto us more then what is necessary, we are not commanded to throw it into the Sea, as some Philosophers [f] have unwisely done; nor to detein it without use, nor to spend it vainly, but to supply out of

y Cic. apud Lact. epitome cap. 1.

z Deut. 23. 19.

a Levit. 26. 5 Deut. 28.

b Mat. 7. 12. Eph. 5. 3.

c Mat. 6. 24. 13. 22. Luc. 8. 14. 1 Tim. 6. 9.

d Mat. 6. 34 Phil. 4. 6.

e 1 Tim 6. 7, 8.

f Habet hoc de Aristippo Laert. & Suid. de Cynice Philosophis.

our

our store the needs of other men; either by giving [g] or lending to them that ask, as it best becomes men who believe themselves to be the Procurators and Stewards of God the Almighty Father. For a benefit well bestowed is Treasure full of good hope, and is neither subject to the violence of Theeves [h], nor to the variety of other accidents. Of this true and sincere liberality an admirable example is left us by the Primitive Christians; when even from *Macedonia* and *Achaia* was sent relief to *Palestine* [i], just as if the whole world were but one family. And there is added in the Law of Christ, that caution also, that our beneficence be not bestowed by any expectation of recompence [k] or glory: The gift loseth its reward with God, if beside God it look at any other repensation. Now that no man may, as the manner is, cover his tenacity with his pretext, a fear, lest himself in his old age, overtaken by some calamity should have need of what he is required to give in Alms, our Law promiseth a special care [l] for such as keep those precepts; and to cherish their confidence reminds them of Gods Providence [m], conspicuous in feeding wild beasts and cattel, and in adorning the herbs and flowers. Now

g *Mat.5.42. Lu.6.35. 1 Tim.6.17, 18.*

h *Mat.6.20.*

i *Rom.15.25, 26. 2 Cor.9. Phil.4.18.*

k *Mat.6. 1, 2. Lu.14.12.*

l *Mat.6.32. Lu.12.7. 21.18.*

m *Mat.7.26*

it

it were an unworthy thing to disbelieve so good, so powerful a God, as an ill Debtor, nor to trust him longer then we hold possession of a pledge.

XX.

Of swearing and other Precepts.

Other Laws forbid perjury, but the Christian Law requires us to abstain from swearing [o] altogether, without necessity: and to be such punctual keepers of our word and lovers of Truth in all our speech, that there may be no need to exact an oath from us at all. Briefly, there can be nothing found out, either in the *Grecian* Philosophies, or in the sentences of the *Hebrews* or other nations, that is excellent, but it is comprehended here and established by Divine Authority: Namely, concerning Modesty [p] and Temperance, and Goodness, and discreet Behaviour; concerning [q] Prudence; the office of Magistrates [r] and Subjects; of Parents [s] and Children, of Masters and Servants, and of Married Persons, owe toward another: but especially touching vices to be shunned which by a fair shew of vertue deceived most of the *Greek* and *Romans*, to wit the desires of Honours and Glory [t]. Lastly, the sum of all Precepts admirable for the solid brevity, is this: To love [u] God above all things, and our neighbour as our selves: that is,

o *Mat.* 5. 33. *Jac.* 5. 12.

p 1 *Pet.* 3. 2. *Tit.* 2. 12. 1 *Tim.* 2. 9. 2 *Cor.* 6. 6. *Gal.* 5. 22. *Phil.* 4. 8.

q *Mat.* 10. 16

r 1 *Tim.* 2. 2. *Rom.* 13. 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. 17

s *Col.* 3. 20, 21. *Eph.* 6. 1.

t *Mat.* 18. 4. *Luc.* 14. 11. *Joh.* 5. 44.

u *Mat.* 9. 18. *Lu.* 10. 27.

to do to another what we would have done unto our own selves [x].

Happily some may here oppose against the excellency of Christs Doctrine, which we commend, the great Difference of Opinions among Christians, whence is sprung also a Multitude of Sects. But our Answer's ready: That the same Accident befalls almost all Arts whatsoever, partly through the Imbecillity of humane Understanding, partly because Judgment is overswayed by Affection. Yet are those varieties of opinions wont to consist within the bounds of certain Truths, agreed on, whence arguments are drawn, in disputations of the Questions. As in the Mathematicks it is disputed, whether a Circle may be quadrated; it is agreed on all hands, that equal parts being taken away from equals, the Remainders are equal: The like we do in Physick, Medicine and other Arts. So also that discrepance of opinions amongst Christians could not spoyl the Harmony of the Principal points, that is, the agreement in those Precepts from which we have especially taken estimation of Christian Religion. The certainty whereof is apparent in this, that whosoever in the heat of their odious quarels seek out matter of difference,

[x] *Luc. 6. 31. vid. Dion. de Alex.*

XXI.

Answer to an Objection of the Controversies amongst Christians.

difference, do not proceed so far, as
deny those things commanded by Chri
no not they who will not compose the
life after that Rule. And if any one w
be so absurd as to contradict them,
must be numbred with the Philosophe
that denied the Whiteness of Snow. F
as these are refelled by sense, so are th
by the consent of all Christian nation
and of the books written by the Primiti
Christians, and their immediate succe
sors, and the following Doctors of t
Church, even such as sealed the faith
Christ with their blood. What all th
acknowledge to be the Doctrine of Chr
must be accounted so by every upri
Judge, as we believe *Plato*, *Xenoph*
another *Socrates* concerning the doctrin
Socrates, the School of the *Stoicks* in th
things which their Master *Zeno* taught.

XXII. Farther of the excellency of Christian Religion, from the eminency of the Master.

The third point, wherein we said Chr
stian Religion excells all other, which
or may be devised, is the Manner whe
by it was delivered and propagate
Where, first we must look upon the A
thor of the Religion. The Authors
the *Grecian* wisdom confessed themsel
the uncertainty of their Doctrines, saying
Truth was as it were drowned in a
well, and our mind, like the night-owl

y *Democrit. apud Cic. in Acad.*

the Suns light, is [z] dim-sighted to behold things Divine. And none of them, but was some way [a] vitious, either [b] for flattery of Princes, or for impure [c] love, or for marling [d] Impudence. All are convinced of envy one toward another by this evident Argument, their contentions about words [e] or things of no moment: and of Coldness in Gods service, for that, when they believed one God, laying him aside, they worshipped others, and such as they believed to be no Gods, making the Custom of the people the Rule by which they squared out their Religion. Lastly, of the reward of Piety, they asserted nothing firmly, as is manifest in that last discourse of *Socrates* before his Death. To proceed, *Mahumet* was the Author of a Religion far and wide dispersed, but he was all his life given over to lust, which his own followers do not deny. And the reward he promised consisting in Feasts and Venery, he gave no assurance it should ere be extant; for his body is not said to have returned to life again, nay to this hour there lies buried at *Medena*. Next for the *Hebrew* Law-giver *Moses*: He was indeed a rare man, but not excused from all blame, seeing with much regret, he at last undertook the Message God

z *Aristot. Met. 2. 1.*
a *Socratis laudatissimi iracundiam, Porphyrii verbis notat Cyril. 6. adv. Jul.*
b *Plato. Aristip.*
c *Zeno, marium, feminarum prope omnes.*
d *Dicti inde Cynici.*
e *Vid. Clem. Stromat. 5 Theod. ser. 2*
f *Xenoph. memor. 1. August. de Seneca. Colebat quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat arguebat. Notav. hoc in Platone Iust. Mart. paran.*
g *Exodus 4. 2, 10.*

God sent by him to the King of *Egypt*, and shewed them some diffidence [h] of Gods promise about drawing water from the Rock, as the *Hebrews* do confess. Neither did He obtain scarce any part of that reward he promised his people by the Law, being vexed in the desert with perpetual seditions, [i] and not entring into the land of Promise. But, Christ is set forth by his Disciples, without the least spot [k] of sin, and by his enemies is not accused of any fault that can be proved by competent witnesses. What he prescribed to other, he performed [l] himself. For the commands laid upon him by God he faithfully fulfill'd, in all his life most [m] innocent, of injuries, and torments most [n] patient, (as he shewed in enduring the Cross) most charitable to all men, even to his enemies, yea to them that cruelly nail'd him to the cross, at once suffering their malice, and praying [o] God to forgive them. Then the Reward he promised his followers, himself is said and prayed to have attained in a most eminent way. After his Resurrection he was seen, [p] heard and felt of many: He ascended into Heaven [q] in the sight of the Twelve. That he received supreme Power, there is demonstrated by the Variety

h *Num.* 20. 12.
i *Exodus* 22 *Num.* 11 *Num.* 20. 12 *Deut.* 34. 4
k *Io.* 8. 46 10. 32 2 *Cor.* 5. 21 1 *Pet.* 2. 22 *Heb.* 4. 15 *Orig.* 3. *cont. Cels.*
l *Beno Lact. fine institut. Nec monstravit tantum, sed etiam præcessit; ne quis, difficultatis gratiâ, iter virtutis horreret.*
m 1 *Pet.* 2. 22.
n *Mat.* 26. 50 52. *Io.* 8. 23. *Acts* 8. 32.
o *Luc.* 23. 34
p *Io.* 20. 27, 28. *Io.* 1. *Ep.* 1. 1. *Mat.* 28 *Mar.* 16 *Luc.* 24 1 *Cor.* 15
q *Mar.* 16. 19 *Luc.* 24. 51 *Acts* 1. 9, 10

gry of Tongues [r] they had not learnt, [s] and other marvellous Gifts he powred down upon his Followers, according to his promise [t] before he left them. All which will not suffer us to doubt, neither of the faith, nor of his Power to render us that reward, which he hath promised. And thus have we collected that this Religion herein also is eminent above others, because the Master thereof, himself performed what he commanded, and what he promised, himself detained.

r *Acts* 2,3,4
s 1 *Cor.*12.10 *Acts* 3.5, 8 2 *Cor.* 12. 12 *Justin. cont. Tryph. Tert. Apol. Orig. adv. Celf.* 7.
t *Jo.*14.12 17,28 *Matt.*16. 17

XXIII. From the admirable propagation of this Religion.

Let us now consider the effects of that Doctrine whereof he was the Author. Which indeed, if we mark them well, are of such a nature, that if God hath any care of humane affairs, the Doctrine can be believed to be no less then Divine.

It was a thing becoming the Divine Providence, to take care that the best things might be most common, and of largest extent. So is Christian Religion, which we see, is taught through all Europe, yea in the utmost recesses of the North [u]: and through all *Asia* [x], the Islands [y] of the Ocean not excepted; through [z] *Egypt* also, through *Ethiopia* [a] and some other parts of *Africk* [b]: and lastly through *America* [c] too. Nor is it so only in our time, but in former ages, as

t *Vid. Adam. Bremens. & Helmoldum.*
u *V. Act. Conc. universal.*
x *V. Osorium in Justi.*
y *Euseb. l.* 34 *Liturg. Copt.*
z *V. Fr. Alv.*
a *V. Tertul. Cyp. August. & Concil.*
b *V. Acostam & alios de reb. Amer.*

appears

appears by all histories, by the books of Christians, by the Acts of Synods by the ancient Tradition still preserved even among *Barbarians*, of the Journies and Miracles of S. *Thomas* [c], *Andrew* [d] and other Apostles. How far the name of Christ was spread in their times, amongst the *Britains*, *Germans*, and other remote nations, is noted by *Clemens* [e], *Tertullian* and others. What Religion is there that can equall the Christian in so large a possession? If you name *Paganism*, you alleage our name, not our Religion. For they adored not the same deity: but some the Stars, some the Elements, some the Beasts, some things of no substance: neither had they one Rule, nor any common Master of their Religion. The Jews indeed are dispersed, but all one nation, and since the time of Christ their Religion hath received no notable increase. Yea their Law hath been made known more by Christians then by themselves. *Mahumetism* hath enlarged it self into Countries enough, but not alone: for in the same Countries there is a mixture of the Christian Religion, and

c *Euseb. in fine 1. Hist. Eccle. & Ruffin. 10. 9 Sepulcrum ejus Ap. in terra Caromandel etiam nunc monst.*

d *Euseb. init. 3. Origin. ad Gen.*

e *Christum is dicit omnibus notum gentib. Strom. 5. Tertul. adv. Ind. 1. Christi regnum ubiq; porrigitur. Irenaeus l. 1 c. 3. Sicut Sol in universo mundo unus & idem est; Sic & lumen, prædicatio veritatis ubiq; lucet & illuminat omnes homines, qui volunt ad cognitionem veritatis venire. Et Origen. ad Ezech. 4. Arnob. 2. Athanas. in Epist. Synod. ap. Theod. l. 4. c. 3. Chrys. hom. 6. ad 1 Cor. & orat. Egreg. Christum esse Deum.*

in

in some places, the Christians are the greater number, when yet *Mahumetans* are not found in many parts where Christians are.

XXIV. The infirmity and simplicity of the first Teachers thereof.

Follows now the Consideration, by what hands and instruments Christian Religion was carried so far that in this respect with others. We observe how most men are so affected that they easily are drawn after the examples of Princes and great men. And the more, if the examples be strengthened with love and force. Hence had the *Pagan* Religions, hence had the *Mahumetan*, their encreaser; but the first Teachers of Christian Religion, were not only without Command, but of a very low fortune, Fishermen, Tent-makers, and of the like condition. And yet by their labors, the Doctrine within about thirty years was propagated not alone through all the parts of the *Roman* Empire [f], but even to the *Parthians* and *Indians*. Nor at the beginning only, but for three centuries by the hands of private men, without any threats, without any temporal encouragements, notwithstanding all the opposition of seculat Rulers, was this Religion promoted; so that before *Constantine* [g] gave his name to Christianity, this was not the lesser part of

f *Rom.* 15. 18

g *Iam suo ævo Tert. dixerat, L. Apol. Hesterni sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, Senatum, forum; Sola vobis reliquimus Templa.*

of the *Roman* world. The Masters of manners, among the *Grecians*, were commendable for their other Arts, as the *Platonists* for *Geometry*, the Peripateticks for natural history, the *Stoicks* for *Sophistry*, the *Pythagoreans* for *Musick*; not a few of them, as *Plato*, *Xenophon*, were graced with a kind of admirable eloquence. But the first Doctors of Christianism had not the aid of any such Art: their speech was with great simplicity [h] and without allurring Ornaments, contemning naked Precepts, Promises, Threats, which have not of themselves an efficacy equal to such great progresses, we must needs conclude either Miracles, or the secret assistance of God prospered their work, or both.

[h] *Prudenter id notatum Chrysost. 1. ad Cor. 1, 17.*

XXV.

The great Impediments to hinder men from embracing the Christian Religion, or to deter them from professing it.

To which consideration add, that the first Disciples and Followers of those Christian Doctors had not minds unprepossessed of certain former Religions and therefore ductile and easie to be framed after a new form, as they that first admitted *Mahumets* Law: much less prepared by any previous disposition or institution, as the *Hebrews* were by Circumcision and the Knowledge of one God disposed to the receiving of *Moses* Law: But on the contrary they were pre-ingaged to opinions and (that second nature)

nature) cuſtome repugnant to thoſe new Doctrines; having been bred up, and by the authority of their Country Laws, and of their Parents confirmed in *Pagan* Idolatries, or Jewiſh Ceremonies. To this obſtruction was added another as great, that is, moſt grievous ſufferings, which preſented themſelves to the profeſſors at the very entrance of Chriſtianity, to be endured or fear'd for that cauſe. For ſeeing humane Nature is abhorrent from ſuch evils, it follows that the cauſes of ſuch evils are not undertaken without much reluctancy. The dore of preferment was long ſhut againſt the Chriſtians, the way lay open to ſequeſtration and exile. Theſe were higher matters. They were condemned to the Mines. They were afflicted with torments, the moſt cruel that could be invented, to the death often, ſo that as the Writers of thoſe times do teſtify, by no famine, by no war, by no peſtilence, was a greater multitude of men conſumed at one time. Neither were the wayes of death vulgar, but burnings [i] alive, Croſſes, and Puniſhments of that ſort which without greateſt horror we cannot read or think upon. And this cruelty that continued without any long breathing ſpaces (and thoſe intervals

[i] *Domitius Ulpianus nobilis IC. libros 7. ſcripſit, quibus pœnis affici deberent Chriſtiani. Lact. 5. 2.*

not every where) till about the Reign of *Constantine*, in the *Roman* Empire, elsewhere longer, was so far from diminishing the Christians, that on the contrary, their blood was compared to seed; So fast did they grow up again after the cutting down. Here also let us compare with the Christian other Religions. The *Greeks* and other *Pagans*, accustomed to vaunt and amplify what was their own number some few, who for their Doctrine suffered death, some *Gymnosophists*, *Socrates* and a few more. Neither can it be easily denyed, but these most noted persons were emboldned with a desire of transmitting their fame unto posterity. But among the Christians that suffered death for their Doctrine, were very many *Plebeians* scarce known to their own Neighbours, Women, Virgins, Youths, who had no appetite nor probable hope, of a lasting Name: And few of them are by name recorded in the *Martyrologies* in respect of the great [k] number that suffered for the cause, being only honoured with a general remembrance. It is worth our observation by the way, that by an easie simulation, as the casting of a little Incense upon the Altar, very many might have

[k] *Ut Massa candida trecentorum Carthagine, quorum memoria in Martyrologio Rom. 24. August. plurimi in Africa sub Severo: sub Valeriano, Antiochiæ & in Arabia, Cappadocia, & Mesopotamia: In Phrygia, in Ponto, sub Maxim. &c.*

have escaped death: which cannot be said of them who whatsoever thoughts they concealed in their hearts, certainly in their open actions complyed with the Vulgar manners: so that to have so died for the honour of God, is an honour hardly communicated to any other but Jews and Christians; nor to the Jews at all, after the times of Christ: in former times, but to a few of them, if they be compared with Christians; more of whom in some one Province suffered for the Law of Christ, then ever did of Jews: all whose patience of that kind is almost reduced to the times of *Maccabees* and *Antiochus*. Wherefore when the Christian Religion, in this part also, so infinitely excels all other, it deserveth to be prefer'd before them. From all that so great multitude of every kind and sexe divided by so many places, and who fear not to dye to this Religion, we must conclude there was some cause of so great constancy: and no other cause can be imagined, but the Light of Truth, and the Spirit of God.

Now if any one be not satisfied with the Arguments hitherto brought for defence of Christian Religion, but desire more cogent Reasons; he must remember

XXVI. Conclusion maintaining the former Proofs.

ber that, according to the divers matter, there are divers [1] ways of Proof. One way in the Mathematicks, another in Physicks, another in Morals, and yet another in question of fact: wherein verily we ought to stand to unsuspected testimonies; otherwise not only all use of History is lost, and a good part of Medicine; but also all Piety 'twixt Parents and Children, who are known [m] by no other means. It was the divine pleasure that the matter of our belief, to the end our faith might be imputed to us as obedience, should not be so evident, as things perceived by sense or demonstration: and yet so evident as is sufficient to make faith, and beget a persuasion in minds not pertinacious and perverse, the Gospel being a Touchstone and Trial of Wits past all hope and cure. For seeing the foresaid Arguments have merited the assent of so many honest understanding men, it is manifest the cause of other mens Incredulity is not the want of proof but their own perverseness, unwilling, that should be true, which crosses their lusts [n]; it being too hard a task for them to desert

1 *Arist. ad Nic. l. 1. Exacta enim tractatio non pari modo in omni genere quærenda est. Id. Metaph. 2. Certitudo Mathematica non in omnibus rebus quærenda est. Chalcid. ad Timæum ex Platonis sententia: Credulitatem omnes doctrinas præcedere, maxime cum non quorumlibet, sed magnorum & prope divinorum virorum sit assertio. Homer.*

m *Generis nemo sibi conscius ipse est, exactissime sc. sciendi genere.* n *Tractat hoc pulcrè Chrysost. 1 Cor. 1. in princip. Idem ad Demetr. Quod præceptis non creditur, ex inertia ad implenda quæ præcepta sunt venit.*

the

the honors and profits of the world, as they muſt do, if they receive the Goſpel of Chriſt and ſubmit to his Precepts. This is the more apparent, becauſe many other hiſtorical narrations they entertain as true; the truth whereof depends only upon authority without any other remaining impreſſions of it, ſuch as confirm the hiſtory of Chriſt, partly by the confeſſion of the Jews now living, partly by the Chriſtians Congregation every where; which could not be without ſome cauſe. And laſtly ſeeing that ſo laſting continuance of the Chriſtian Religion, and the ſo large propagation of it can be referred to no humane efficacy; it follows that it muſt be aſcribed to Miracles or if any deny it to have come to paſs by Miracles this very thing, that without a Miracle ſuch a Doctrine hath received ſo great increaſe and ſtrength, is to be accounted greater then any Miracle.

o *Chryſoſt. 1 Cor. 1. fine Auguſt de C.D. lib. 22. cap. 5.*

Appendix.

HUGO GROTIUS

HIS JUDGEMENT

in ſundry points controverted.

TRANSLATED

OUT OF HIS VOTE

for the Churches Peace,

publiſhed by the Author,

AN. 1642.

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS EST ECCLESIARUM SCABIES. H. WOTTON. *Ad Regem.*

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Appendix.

HUGO GROTIUS

HIS

Judgement in ſundry points controverted.

Of the Author's Moderation, and ſtudy of Peace.

BEing from my tender years bred up in the ſacred Scripture, but under Teachers of ſeveral Opinions in Religion, I eaſily perceived it to be the will of Chriſt, that all they who have their name from him, and by him deſire to partake of happineſs, ſhould be one among themſelves, as He and the Father are [a] One. Nor only, one in minde, but alſo by that Communion which is viſible, and is ſeen eſpecially in the Unity of Government, and the participation of Sacraments. For,

[a] *Joh.* 17. 11, 21, 22, 25.

the Church is, or ought to be, a certain
b *Rom.* 12. 5. b Body. Which Body, Christ, whom
1 *Cor.* 12. 12. God hath made Head thereof, would
Eph. 1. 23. have to be compacted and fitly c joyned
Colos. 1. 18. together; and every one to be baptized
c *Eph.* 4. 16. into the d same; and to eat of one conse-
d 1 *Cor.* 12. 13. crated bread, that so they might more and
more grow together, and shew themselves
e 1 *Cor.* 10. 17 to be one Body e. I was extreamly plea-
sed with that beauty of the ancient
Church, without controversie Catholick,
when all Christians (except some little
parts separated, and thereby easie to be
known) were bound together by the
commerce of their *formatæ*, from the
Rhene to *Africk* and *Egypt*, from the
British Ocean even to beyond *Euphrates*.
For this end I saw that Schismes and Di-
visions of that conspicuous Body were
f *Rom.* 17. 7. secretly interdicted f; and to this pur-
1 *Cor.* 1. 10. pose principally, were the Epistles of
Gal. 5. 20. *Paul* and of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*;
together with many Writings of *Optatus*
and *Austin* against the *Donatists*. More-
over I began to consider, that both my
own and many other mens Forefathers
were men of piety, enemies to vice and
superstition, and such as well instructed
their families to the worship of God and
love of their neighbour; whose departure

out

out of this life I always thought to have been blessed: Nor was I ever moved to alter this good opinion of them, by *Franciscus Iunius*, a man of such equity and moderation, that for it some other Protestants more hot-liver'd, did both think ill and speak ill of him. Further, I did understand by the relation of my Elders, and by written Histories, that there arose men afterward, who said, that Church, wherein our Ancestors lived, was by all means to be deserted: Nor did they only desert it themselves (some even before they were excommunicate) but also gathered new Assemblies, which they also called Churches: There they erected new Presbyteries, they preach't, they administred the Sacraments; and that in many places against the edicts both of Kings and Bishops; And they said, in defence of their doings, even as if they had Commission from heaven, such as the Apostles had, *That we must obey God rather then men.* Nor staid they here: but having traduced Kings as Idolaters and Servants to the Pope, they stirred up the common people to armed meetings, to seditions against the Magistrates, to break down Images of the Saints, and deface Churches; Lastly to

civil

civil Warres and open Arms againſt Kings. I ſaw, by this means was waſted every where much Chriſtian blood: but mens manners, for the moſt part, eſpecially in time of proſperity, nothing at all amended; nay, by long War grown more wild, and infected with the contagion of forain vices. As I grew in years, I grew more ſenſible of theſe things, and more compaſſionate; and I began both to conſider with my ſelf, and to confer with others, about the Cauſes of ſo great a miſchief. They that had departed, to defend what they had done, ſtrongly affirmed the doctrine of that Church, which adhered to the principal Sea, was corrupt with many hereſies and idolatry: which made me enquire into the doctrines of that Church, and read books written on both ſides, and the writings too, of the preſent ſtate and doctrine of that Church, that is in *Greece*, and of them that cohere unto it through *Aſia* and *Egypt*. I found the ſame doctrines in the Eaſt, which were in the Weſt, defined by general Councels: agreement about the Government of the Church (except the controverſies with the Pope:) and about the perpetual rites of the Sacraments. I proceeded farther, to read the chief Wri-

ters.

ters of old time, among which are the *African* and *Gallick*: the Writers of the three beſt Ages I read all, and often; the later, as much as my buſineſs and time would permit, eſpecially *Chryſoſtom* and *Jerom*, becauſe I ſaw theſe were eſteemed more happy in expounding the Text of ſacred Scripture. To theſe writings applying the Rules of *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, approved by the moſt learned men; I collected, what, by the teſtimony of the Ancients, and impreſſions remaining to this day, was delivered *always, and every where, and conſtantly*. I ſaw the ſame remaining in that Church, which is joyned with the *Roman*. But withall I obſerved, that by the Schoolmen (more skilful in *Ariſtotle's* Philoſophy, then in the holy Scripture, and thoſe ancient Writers, that illuſtrated Chriſtian Religion, both in *Greek* and *Latin*) many Doctrines were introduced by a certain liberty of argumentation, not by authority of Univerſal Councels: and, that the doctrines eſtabliſhed in the Councels were not by the Schoolmen commodiouſly explained: and further, that amongſt the Prelates of the Church ſuch pride and avarice and ill manners had prevailed, that they were not ſollicitous, neither to inculcate thoſe good.

good doctrines to the people, as was fit, nor to correct the vices of the people, but took advantage and made a gain of the peoples ignorance, and of their superstition, the daughter of ignorance, and nurse of vices. That ancient doctrine being thus overclouded, partly appeared not, partly being discovered seem'd other then it was. Then judged I that this was the cause, why there was, many ages since, desired a Reformation, *i. e.* a repurgation of doctrine, both from the Scholastical Trifles and Disputes, and from those mists which overshadowed it: and, why at last (the complaints of Kings and learned men having long been in vain) some Kings ill used by some of the Popes, and elsewhere private Persons, set themselves about such a Reformation, as they could devise. But yet this had not the desired success. For, in several places were framed several confessions, and contradictory: And, not only the parties, that were made, could never close, but also new little parties sprung up every day: so many, that none can number them. Yea, credible it is, that new will arise perpetually: so fruitful is the matter and occasion of them. When this also very much displeased me, and I noted the Heads of each party to carry

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on the buſineſs, rather with lowdneſs of noyſe then ſtrength of arguments, I turned my ſelf to read thoſe writers, that although they were in a divers communion, yet applyed their minde rather to heal, then to enlarge the difference. I no ſooner gave my ſelf to that ſtudy, but I ſaw, they all made it their buſineſs, to eſtabliſh the old un-interrupted doctrine, and to remove the forenamed impediments, both of uſeleſs ſubtilties, and faulty practices, which either obſcure and hide, or diſcolour and blemiſh the ancient doctrine. To effect this deſign with moſt advantage unto concord, their judgment was, that every party ought not to take ſeveral ways, but all follow the ſame. Three ways there are, *ſaid they:* either the authority of an exceeding good Pope: or an Univerſal Councel lawfully aſſembled in the interpapacy: or the Conferences of Kings, guided by the Biſhops, with purpoſe after to refer the propoſals and concluſions there, to the Sea of *Rome*, as the means of Concord. Now, after that I had alſo diſcourſed with excellent men, Divines and Politicians, both of the *Roman*, and of the Reformed part, I ſaw their Counſels bending to the ſame point, with the Books of thoſe I mentioned before.

fore. And, seeing this busines, no les difficult then commendable, requires many helping hands, not of the first only, but of the second and third rank, that reasons may be seconded by reasons, and the consent of many may overcome the contumacy of some, and quicken the slowness of others; I also thought it became me (after much of my life spent in reading those writers, that love Peace more then Division) to gather together what I had learned, for the use of posterity.

Of his Annotations on Cassander.

Knowing that *Casaubon* and other great men much commended the book written by *Georgius Cassander*, a man of a most gentle spirit, at the request of the most religious Emperors, *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*; I conceived it my best way, not to attempt a new work, but to contribute some additional aid to his work. That work of mine was not displeasing in *France*, neither to them that would be called Catholicks, nor to the other that desire the title of Reformed. I received also favourable judgments from other places. But from those Preachers, that bear

bear the sway in *Holland*, I confess I expected no favour: nor was I deceived in my conjecture, for very many presently rose up against me, with great clamor, as there the custome is, as if *Hannibal* were at the gates.

Of His Letters to Socinians.

I have been accused to forein Embassadors of grievous heresies, upon no other ground, but because I had returned answer to the Letters of certain *Socinians*. And verily, I am not so stout, as to deny even to a *Pagan*, if he write unto me, that common office of humanity, which Saint *Basil* himself vouchsafed to render to *Libanius*.

Of the Synod of Dort.

The pious and learned men, condemned in the *Dort* Synod, and then expelled the Land, had delivered to the Rulers of their Country their opinion, which is the same with *Melanchons*, and hath been always defended by many in those places: but their Adversaries, not they, were the first men that made the separation.

As to those Acts of *Dort*, the *Argentoratenses*

ratenſes and *Suedi* returned this as a principal part of their anſwer to *Joannes Duræus*, one who with a good mind endeavoured the reconciliation of Proteſtants: That themſelves were no leſs condemned there, then they that had the ſame opinions with *Arminius*. That, whereas heretoſore they that think themſelves more purely reformed then the reſt were wont to give this anſwer to the objections out of *Calvin*, *Beza* and others, That they were the private ſentences of thoſe Maſters; now all of that part are bound up by the publick voyce of their Synod; there is no eſcape; there is none but he is obliged to maintain thoſe horrible Decrees, as *Calvin* himſelf ſpeaks. Nor do they believe brotherly words to be ſent them from the Diſciples of *Calvin*, with any other minde then that they may inſinuate themſelves, and creep into power, and when they have prevailed, caſt out their brethren, as they did thoſe out of *Holland*, and as *Luthers* Diſciples were twice expelled out of the Palatinate.

Of the Biſhop of Rome.

The Authority of the *Roman* Biſhop would not have ſeemed ſo formidable

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to D. *Hall*, that he ſhould therefore caſt off all hope of reconciliation, had he known how ready the remedies are in *France* and *Spain*, to reſtrain the Pope from invading the rights either of the Kings or Biſhops: had he conſidered moreover, that the King of great *Britain* enjoyes no power concerning things and perſons Eccleſiaſtical, which the King of *Sicily* hath not alſo.

Of the puniſhment of Hereticks.

God forbid I ſhould aſſent to *Calvin* and *Beza*, that ſuch as erre about the Trinity, ſhould be burnt or put to death. For in that moſt difficult point, it is an eaſie thing to erre: and the puniſhment of him that erres, is ſo to be taught, that he may confeſs his error. For, if Magiſtrates, by the Law of *Moſes* alleaged by *Calvin* and *Beza*, ought to ſlay them that do not well diſtinguiſh the divine perſons (wch is the only thing *Melanchon* objecteth to *Servetus*:) why not them that do confound the natures of Chriſt, which *Calvin's* Diſciples object to *Luther's*? Again, if that Law ſet againſt Idolaters, muſt by way of ſimilitude, be extended unto Hereticks, certainly it may much rather be executed againſt

against Idolaters. But now, they that number among Idolaters all them, that adhere to the See of *Rome*, do they not shew, that they abstein from putting them to death, not out of any commiseration, but fear of talion, and of being served so themselves? Which bridle of fear being once taken off, their nature would carry them into extremity.

Of the Augustan Confession.

The Anathemacs of the *Trent* Synod are not against the *Augustan* Confession, but against the sentences of private men: who had too bitterly traduced the doctrine of the Catholicks, that they had not sufficiently understood. Yea, the Emperor *Charles* made intercession at *Rome*, that this Confession might not be put among Books interdicted.

Of the Schoolmen.

The Opinions of the Schoolmen are not to be insisted on; because, neither are the Catholicks bound to defend them, neither is their authority so great, that it may obstruct the way of that Peace which we so heartily desire.

Of

Of the Spirit claimed.

Some Proteſtants ſay, they are led by publick authority of the Spirit in his word common to all Chriſtians. As much was ſaid by *Socinus*, *Brown*, and ſo many others. See, into what perplexities the hearers mindes are on every ſide involved: *Here is the word of God pure and ſincere, according to the ſenſe of the Holy Spirit.* They know not whither to turn themſelves, but moſt abide there, where their birth, or education, or hope of profit and preferment hath placed them, and applaud their own men ſpeaking loud and confidently. Could any one free men out of this Labyrinth, were it not a happy work and worthy of all acceptation?

Of the Holy Trinity.

In the words of the Patriarch *Gennadius*, and of the *Greek* Church with him, concerning the Trinity, the learned *Germans*, who ſet them out, found nothing from the *Nicene* Faith. I know not whether in this matter your *French* wits, as more ſubtile, ſee more then other: but let them take heed, leſt that befall them, which happened to *Calvin*; who by his ſubtilties

subtilties drew upon himself most grievous criminations. All men cannot clearly express what things differ really, what by reason, and what modally: whether the Father be more rightly said to have begotten, or always to beget: whether *Keckerman* rightly called the persons *entia*: whether *Calvin* rightly called the persons *proprietates*: why the same *Calvin* is not pleased that the Son should be said *God of God*. These and such like, while I read and recogitate, I praise the saying of *Irenæus*: *If any one shall tell us how the Son was produced of the Father, we tell him his generation is ineffable, and no man knows it.* And that of *Ruffinus* or some other on the Creed; *How the Father begat the Son, I would not have thee examine, nor over-curiously thrust thy self forward into this mystery, lest perhaps by approaching too near unto that light which is inaccessible, thou lose thy eyes.* *Basil* and *Nazianzen* speak after the likemanner. I praise also *Marcian* the Emperour, who prohibited all disputes about those points that were once determined by Synod.

Of Servetus.

Servetus his Books, by the diligence of *Calvin*, were burnt, not at *Geneva* only, but

but in other places. Yet I confess, in my life time I have seen one copy of *Servetus* his book in *Latin*: wherein truly I found not those things, which *Calvin* objects against him. *Michael Servetus*, by the procurement of *Calvin*, was burnt alive at *Geneva* in the year 1553. What *Melancthon* wrote of *Servetus* after that time, he had from *Calvin*. *Oecolampadius* seems to have known him in *Helvetia*, before that; but he thought him fit to be exploded, not killed. But *Calvin* speaketh of himself: *I willingly acknowledge and own it, that the accuser came forth from me.* He addes: *It is not only free for the Magistrates to punish the corrupters of heavenly doctrine, but that, which unskilful men will not allow to be lawful for them, is commanded them by God.* And in an Epistle to *Farellus*, touching the same *Servetus*: *I hope at least he will be sentenced to death.*

Of Calvin's impatience.

With what humanity *Calvin* was wont to entertain such as differed from him in opinion, is apparent in his writings. *Castellio*, because he oppugned that Predestination which *Calvin* taught, he calls *nebulonem & Satanam*: Cornhorrius, *& nebulonem*

nebulonem & canem: The writer of the office of a pious man in this difference of Religion (which was *Cassander*, but was thought by him to be *Balduinus*) he stileth, *frontis ferreæ hominem, pietatis expertem, profanum, impudentem, impostorem*, &c. When *Baldvin* had opposed himself against that writing, he calls him *hominem nihili, obscœnum canem, improbum falsarium*, &c. He calls *Cassander* ἀυθάδη, *morosum, lamiam, larvam, serpentem, pestem, carnificem.* Besides, *Bucer* (I will speak what is true, though some would not have it spoken) he did so vexe, that he forced the meek man to write these most true words: *Judicas, prout amas vel odisti: amas autem vel odisti, prout libet.* Thou judgest according to thy love or hatred; Thou lovest and hatest, as thy list is. Yea, and for his bloody sayings *Bucer* gave him the name of *Fratricida.* This liberty of ill-speaking, *Calvin* in an Epistle to *Bucer* gently calls *impatience:* and saith, he did much struggle with it, and did gain somewhat, but had not yet gotten the victory over this beast. Read his after-writings, and you will say indeed he profited, but from bad to worse. So well did he like, *Quod non volo, facio:* What I would not, I do. And so *Beza* confesseth,

confeſſeth, in fifteen years ſpace, wherein he taught others the way of righteouſneſs, himſelf could not learn ſobriety, nor liberality, nor veracity, but ſtill did ſtick in the mire. I do not revive theſe things, as if I had any minde to fight with dead men, but becauſe I obſerve, it uſually ſo comes to paſs, that every one imitates the manners of Him whom he hath choſen for his Maſter. *Melanchon's* Scholars and *John Arnd's*, almoſt all, you ſhall find of a ſweet and mild diſpoſition; *Calvin's* on the the contrary, ſharp, and ſuch as they imagin God to be toward the greateſt part of mankind. So great a matter it is, what Doctor you uſe. They that have the leaſure may do well to read both *Caſſander's* and *Balduin's* Anſwers to *Calvin*, for their better knowledg of the mans diſpoſition.

Of Adam and his Innocency.

The Apoſtle *Paul* oppoſing the earthly *Adam* to the ſpiritual, conſiders *Adam* as he was firſt created, not as fallen. Whence it follows, that we have another nature from Chriſt, then we ſhould have had, if *Adam* had perſiſted in his primitive condition, and begotten his like. Yet, that a certain Innocency was in *Adam* before he ſinned,

no understanding man can deny. Nor do I dispute what God would have done with him, had he persisted in obedience. I freely leave every man to the liberty of his own judgment in this point. But, (this secret Counsel of God being laid aside) that a celestial life was not promised him, but a terrestrial only, the Scripture plainly speaks. Nor could he certainly promise to himself that which God had not promised him. And the Law of *Moses* it self, given so long after, hath no promises but terrestrial, as appears to every Reader, and all the Ancients well perceived. *Cameron* taught thus in *France*. And I do not herein digress from the received sentence of the Church; I do also willingly submit my self in this point, to the judgment of the University of *Paris*.

Of Grace and Free-will.

Pelagius thought the external predication of the word sufficient to beget righteousness: the interior he thought to happen to some, but not to be necessary. But, that the Free will of man is subjoyned and conjoyned to that grace working inwardly, this is not an error of *Pelagius*, but Catholick sense, which is acknowledged,

knowledged by all the writers of the three best Ages, and by the Bishops of *Rome*, who answered the *Africk* and *Gallick* upon this question. Yet doth not Grace depend upon Free-will, because Grace worketh how far and how much it pleaseth; nor leaveth working, but because it will, for just causes.

Of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament.

That the Body of Christ is in the Eucharist after a singular manner, D. *Rivet* acknowledgeth: he denies the manner to be substantial. But that that which the signs testify is really and truly received, D. *Rivet's Gallick*-Confession saith. *Calvin*, *Beza*, and *Sadeel* say, that the Body and Blood is received substantially. The difficulty ariseth from the words diversly understood. For, D. *Rivet*, by the substantial manner, understands the quantitative, which no Catholick would have him to acknowledge. But, that this manner is so substantial, that it is spiritual, the Catholicks confess. The substance of every thing is that which is chief, which is active, for which the rest are. In this Sacrament, which consists of invisible

things and visible, the chief is the body and blood of our Lord: the rest are accounted as accidents.

Of Justification.

In this controversie of Justification many triumph, as if they had brought us light from heaven, that was unknown very many Ages. But I will sincerely speak, what I have learned out of much reading of the *Grecks* and *Latins*, who have written upon *Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans*. Christ is our Righteousness so, as he is our sanctification: *i. e.* the cause both of our Righteousness and Sanctification. For, by faith in Christ we are justified, that is, purified and freed from vices. Being thus freed, God useth us, loves and honours us as just and righteous: and in token of highest friendship gives us his holy Spirit, by whom we produce, or ought to produce, works truly heroical, that is, heavenly. So they that were *Tsadikim* are made also *Chasidim* in the highest degree. Now, faith is said to be imputed for righteousness, or (which is the same) righteousness by faith, because God accounts it for an act very excellent, as of old the zeal of *Phinehas*. Of the

the righteousnes of Christ imputed to us, as if we had performed it all; and of faith whose office it is to embrace that righteousnes so imputed, there is not one word in the sacred letters. That faith which is so much commended is this, whereby we believe Christ to have suffered, dyed and risen again from the dead; and therefore, those things to be true, which he brought us in Gods name, either by way of precept or of promise. Mean while, 'tis true, that God forgives them, who are purged from vices, their former crimes; and that he doth for Christ his sake, who hath obtained it for us: for God was not bound to forgive them. But unless God had forgiven us our sins, he would not give us that greatest gift, which in this life can be conferred on men, his holy Spirit. For that is a sure Testimony of his paternal love, and of this in the highest degree. That the sayings of *Paul* tend hither, and that this is his sense, both by the force of his words and the *series* of his discourse, we trust we shall make manifest in our Annotations. In the mean time I intreat those that doubt, to read the *Greeks*, *Chrysostom*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact*, or the *Latines*; also *Ambrose* and *Hierom*: they will find

them to have thought the same that I say. And what marvel is it, if God for his righteousnes approve of that righteousnes wch himself hath made in us, and which is therefore called *the righteousnes of God*, and which doth many ways excell the legal righteousnes, and all that proceeds from humane strength? For God cannot chuse but love what is his own. Nor doth God, when he looks upon men converted by himself, & unto himself, look upon them as sinners (as the word is taken in Scripture) but as purged & freed from sin. And thence ariseth that joyful peace of conscience, because unto such, God (as we have now said) for Christ's sake hath promised indulgence of their former crimes.

Now, the honor and glory of all righteousnes which is found in Christians, returns unto God and Christ. For faith is the gift of God, and by Christ, not by works, but by him that calleth. And this is the seed of righteousnes: and all the fruit is esteemed to be in the seed. How easie a way here is to a reconciliation, were it not for Scholastick subtleties and an unpeaceable mind. *Bucer* shews upon the second Psalm, not of *Steven's* edition, which is plainly corrupt and depraved, as for the most part the *Genevian* editions

editions are, but of the *Argentorate*: *Non possum non sanius judicium optare quibusdam*, &c. *I cannot but wish a sounder judgment to some, who in these our times have troubled many with this paradox, That we are saved by faith alone. When yet they saw this was so interpreted as if they did define righteousnes by the sole opinion or perswasion of the mind, and did seclude good works. What charity now is that, which doth not vouchsafe one word to cure this malady, by saying, we are justified by faith formed or consummate; or, by faith we attain a willingnes to do good works, & so attain to righteousnes; or, faith is the foundation and root of a good life, as* Austin *said. Nor is any man verily to be offended with the truth.* See the same *Bucer*'s Preface to his Commentaries upon the four Evangelists, which also is purposely omitted in *Steven*'s edition. *Melanchon* too, in his letters to *Joachimus Camerarius*, oft complains, the only objection against him was, that he praiseth good works a litle too much. But, saith he, I say, not such horrid things as others, and those things that are both true and profitable.

Touching Forgivenes of sin, Luk. 23. 34.

What *Esaias* foretold, that Christ

ſhould pray for the tranſgreſſors, the ſame *Luke* declares he did in theſe words: *Father forgive them: for they know not what they do.* Here is not meant full and perfect remiſſion, which follows repentance, but remiſſion with a certain reſpect, or abſolution of a certain puniſhment, which might then have been inflicted on them. Thoſe words require this ſenſe: *for they know not what they do.* For it follows not thence, that they ought to obtain a plenary pardon, which is not given but to the penitent, ſuch as they were not at that time; but, that they might not be dealt with rigorouſly, to wit, by ſhutting up againſt them the wayes of repentance.

Of Predeſtination.

The place *Rom.* 8. 30. is carried violently by D. *Rivet* to his Predeſtination, whereas in all that Chapter the diſcourſe is of deſtination to the Croſs: which deſtination they, when they are able, by oppoſite force avoid, or even prevent. If any man doubt of it, let him read the Hiſtory of *Geneva* reſtored.

The diſtinction of Gods *antecedent* will, and *conſequent*, we have in *Damaſcen de orthodoxa fide* 11. 29. and more at large

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in dialogo cum Manichæo not far from the end. As for Predeſtination, it doth not ſignify in the Scriptures that which many conceive, but an Ordination of thoſe benefits whereby we are conducted to ſalvation, and is always taken in the better ſenſe.

Touching certainty of ſalvation.

Auſtin and other Fathers teach, that we are indeed certain of the reward, if we perſevere: and this is the faith which cannot be deceived: but of perſeverance it ſelf we are uncertain: yee ſo, that the more every one proceedeth in piety, the more hope he hath, fear being not altogether excluded. *Auſtin* alſo ſaith, no man is certain of his Predeſtination, without divine revelation: And, Faith joyned with charity, and regeneration are not certain tokens of Predeſtination, becauſe many that had that faith and were regenerated, not only fail but eternally periſh. *The regenerate, ſome perſevering to the end go hence; others are here deteined untill they fall away:* De bono perſever. *To ſome, whom he hath regenerated in Chriſt, to whom he hath given faith, hope, and charity, God giveth not perſeverance.* eod. lib. *Some regenerate and juſtified perſon relapſeth*

eth into an evill life by his own will : De correp. & Grat. *Therefore no man can be ſecure, untill this life, which is a temptation upon earth, be conſummate.* De bono perſever. But indeed, as *Melanchon* writes to *Joachimus Camerarius*, there are ſome paradoxes borne in *Zeno*'s School, which are not rightly father'd upon *Auſtin.*

Of the Angell in the Revelation, c. 1, 11.

The Angel is but one in every Church (where yet long before were many Presbyters) ſo called becauſe the *Hebrews* (whoſe example the *Egyptians* alſo followed, as we learn by a place of *Diodorus Siculus* in *Photius*) ſtiled their chief Prieſts, to whom the Biſhops in the Church are correſpondent, by the name of Angels. Chriſt himſelf diſtinguiſhes the Church and the Angels: the candleſticks are the Churches, and the Stars are the Angels of the Churches. *Jerom* called the Angels Preſidents of the Church. *Auſtin*: *Sub Angeli nomine laudatur præpoſitus Eccleſiæ.* And the ſame is the explication of *Bullinger*, *Beza*, *Reinolds*. One of theſe Angels was *Polycarpus*, the Preſident of the Presbytery at *Smyrna*, conſtituted there by *John* the Apoſtle. *Irenæus* 3. 3. *Polycarpus was not only inſtru-*

instructed by the Apostles, and a companion of many of them that had seen our Lord; but also constituted Bishop by the Apostles in Asia in the Church of Smyrna: whom also we saw in our first age. For he continued long, and being very old, by a most glorious and most noble Martyrdom departed out of this life. Tert. de præscript. hær. *After this manner the Apostolical Churches bring down their account: as the Church of* Smyrna *relates* Polycarpus *placed there by* John. Adverſ. Marcion. 4. *The order of Bishops, followed up to its original, will stand upon* John *the Author.* The Synod of *Chalcedon, Act.* 11. *From* S. Timothy *until now*, 27. *Bishops were all made and ordained at Ephesus.* I much esteem the incomparable diligence of *Blondellus*; and I advise all to read his Books: yet with judgment. For it is no wonder, if that learned man be sometimes carried aside by his affection to his own parties, and find evasions, as when in *Irenæus* 3. 3. he interprets *the more potent principality* to be meant of the *Empire*, when the *Church* is to be understood, as appears by the reason added, because there hath been always conserved the Apostolical Tradition.

Of Infant-Baptisme.

To the places of Scripture, which are brought

brought to prove the neceſſity of baptizing Infants, what may be anſwered, He that will may learn out of Cardinal *Perron*'s Anſwer to *Caſaubon*'s Epiſtle, cap. 8. For my part, I acquieſce in the authority of the Church, to whom God hath given the Sacraments and ſome right over them. There was a time when the Euchariſt was given to Infants. This cuſtom is vaniſht, yet not as abſurd but unneceſſary. To defer Baptiſme till ripe years was in old time left at liberty. Now the obſervation is otherwiſe; and yet even now there is no certain time of receiving Baptiſme defined by the Church. Here is nothing againſt the Scripture. Great hath alwayes been the liberty of the Church, in the time, place, and manner of ſuch things. There are ſome lately born that believe otherwiſe: yet themſelves neither baptize the perſons naked, nor dip them under water, which is ſignified by the word βαπτίζειν. *Auſtin* ſaid well againſt *Creſconius*: *Quamvis de Scriptura Canonica non proferatur exemplum*, &c. *Though example be not brought out of Canonical Scripture, yet we hold the verity of thoſe Scriptures, when we practice this that hath pleaſed the Univerſall Church, commended to us by the Authority of the ſame Scriptures.*

Of

Of Transubstantiation.

In the Sacrament of the Eucharist, *Modrevius* saith, there is not to be understood any Physical Transubstantiation, but Metaphysical, or rather Theological: and we may add Theurgical. As the word *substance* is not taken by all in the same manner: for the *Aristotelean* Philosophers take it one way, the *Hermetick* another, and the *Platonick* another: So also the word *Transubstantiation*; or, if you had rather follow the *Greek*, * *Transelementation*. I believe many Protestants are not offended with the word (which may receive as commodious an interpretation, as the word θεοτόκος) but with some explications of the Schoolmen: which they may, if they please, lay by, and keep to that which all the Catholicks acknowledge, *This* † *mutation is made spiritually, profits spiritually.* The *Formulæ possi à cena*, proposed by way of concord, is extant, approved and signed, on the part of the Catholicks by the Bishop of *Valence* and *Espencæus*, by *Beza* and *Galassius* on the Protestants part. The Fathers and very many Protestants do affirm it for certain, that together with the signes the thing it self is exhibited, but in a manner that is not perceptible by the external

* μεταστοιχείωσις.

† μεταβολὴ, μεταποίησις, μετα ῥύθμησις.

senses. So *Bucer* and others. To speak my heart, I think that many disputers do understand well enough the sense of the ancient Church, and of the present *Greek* and *Latin:* but they dissemble it, that they may have matter to declame upon, among those, that make more use of their outward senses, then their inward.

Of Adoration at the Sacrament.

When the Catholicks say and profess, they exhibit signs of honor to Christ, whom very many Protestants do acknowledge present in the Sacrament, they are not * *worshippers of the bread*, no more then the Jews were † *worshippers of the Ark*, when they exhibited honour to God before the Ark. Christ may be invoked every where, and where more justly, then where in so singular a manner he exhibits his presence? I will say more; the various flexures of the body, anciently used for the signification of honour, have not any certain and determinate signification by the divine law; but are at free use, unless where the manners of people appropriate them to this or that signification. Therefore, if the Apostles bowed the head, others the knees, upon the matter there is no difference. But these words

* ἀρτολάτραι.
† κιβωτολάτραι.

latria,

latria, adoration and the like, because they are ambiguous, do notably serve them that seek contention.

Of Christian Sacrifices.

The word *Sacrifice* is not to be restrained more narrowly then either the original of the word or the use of it will bear. The legal oblation of *meat* is called a sacrifice. And in *Gen.* 4. 3. according to the *Greek: Cain brought of the fruits of the earth* θυσίαν *a sacrifice to the Lord.* Therefore also of the fruits of the earth, the offering that is made is rightly called θυσία, *a sacrifice.* Therefore the faithful sacrifice, when they offer the fruit of the corn, & the fruit of the vine, to be consecrated to the most holy use. Moreover, the Church commemorating the Sacrifice of Christ with the usual rite and words, in this also sacrificeth and offers that which is her own, given unto her by Christ, that she setteth before the eyes of God, by that thee beseecheth God, and it is the same sacrifice that Christ offered; the same one true and singular sacrifice to *Augustin*, a sacrifice of * memory to *Eusebius*, a †spiritual sacrifice to others. After that, the faithful offer themselves, according to the example of Christ, their goods,

* μνήμης θυσία.

† νοερὰ θυσία.

their labors, their life also, if not in effect, in affection, as *Abraham* sacrificing offered his Son. In all this, what is there new, what deformed, what hurtful? But mindes once distracted do distract all things into a depraved meaning, and then are glad to finde a hint for it in any of the Schools.

Of satisfaction.

To satisfie is not a word of Scripture but of the civil Law, and the Lawyers say, we satisfie him whose desire we fulfill. Now, God desires not repentance only, but the testimonies of repentance, especially such as do inure upon the mind the memory, and eschewing of the offence. Neither is more injury done to Christ in this word, then when the Apostles are said *to convert and to save* men: which words do agree to Christ in an excellent and principal way; to the Apostles in their measure. Nor would Christ so satisfie for us, as to leave us nothing to do our selves. In this point, no less then in righteousness which they call *imputative*, the meer devises of men are thrust upon us, in stead of divine dictates. And it is no marvel, many are pleased therewith. The Cause is evident.

Vid Syrach. 3.28.

Of

Of obedience to Governours.

Surely, 'tis an excellent Rule, that is preſcribed for a King, in *Deut.* and there have been few Kings in the people of God, after that Rule, if any one at all. So true is that ſaying, *All good Princes may have their names eaſily inſcribed within the compaſs of one ring.* The Kings of *Juda*, the beſt, had no ſmall faults: thoſe of *Iſrael* were all naught. Haply, that exact Rule was anſwered by the Great *Theodoſius*, Saint *Lewis*, and ſome few more. The fewer they have been, the greater is the praiſe. To which praiſe I ſhut up the entrance to none of the Kings. In the mean time, I inculcate into ſubjects obedience toward them all, according to the precept of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Let them deſire the beſt, give God thanks for the middle ſort, bear with the worſt, for the doctrine and example of Chriſt. Let them ſuffer even crafty Foxes, ſuch as *Herod*: even cruel Lions, ſuch as *Nero*. And when I ſpeak of ſubjects, under that name I comprehend alſo inferiour Magiſtrates, who in reſpect of the Higheſt Power are but ſubjects, ſent by the King, as *Peter* ſaith. I preach not *Evangelium armatum*, an armed Goſpel, as *Ronſard* ſaid of *Beza* truly. Not obedience only,

but honour also and reverence is due unto
* σκολιοῖς. them; even to the * froward. *What else?* saith *Sophocles*, *They are Princes.* But *Paul* with Apostolical gravity: *They are Gods Ministers.* And if the doubtful actions even of private men are, according to the rule of charity, to be interpreted on the better part, how much more of Kings; who are not bound to render an account of their actions to any, nor can they sometimes do it without perill of the commonwealth.

TO THE READER.

THus far have I offered the Authours judgment unto yours, to be followed so far as you shall see cause, and no farther; nor do I presume to interpose my own. Only I fear, as ancient Discipline and Rites, so some ancient Doctrines too have been traduced and decryed under the odious name of Popery. And, me thinketh, it may justly abate the eagerness of some of our people, and of our young Preachers, who inweigh against persons and opinions before they have well weighed them; to see so brave a man as GROTIVS *deliver himself after this sort. If this little pains have but this effect, I suppose it is not ill bestowed.*

Let the Peace of Christ rule in our hearts, to which also we are called in one Body. *Coloss.* 3. 15. *M. Ca-*

M. Casaubon in his Preface to his *Antoninus* in English.

THe best able, that I know now living, to perform this or any thing else, that belongs to a general and compleat Scholar, M. *Hugo Grotius*, &c.

D. *Hammond*, Of Christs reprehending *Peter*.

This learned man *Grotius*, an excellent *Casuist*, exactly distinguishing the several obligations of Nature, of *Moses*, and of Christ, &c.

Grotius according to his manner, which is to say all that can be wisht in any subject, &c.

Gerardus Jo. Vossius, ad *H. Grotium*.

O quam te memorem, optimi parentis
Proles maxima, ter beate *Groti*! &c.

Jo. Scaliger, ad *H. Grotium*.

At quicunque tuos, *Groti* divine, libellos
Sola moraturos lumina docta leget, &c.

Jun.

Jan. Dousa ad *H. Grotium.*

Magne puer, magni dignissima cura parentis,
Nomine sis dubito major, an ingenio.
&c.

Dan. Heinsius, ad eundem.

Natura nutrix obstetrixque, quæ prius
Noverca cunctis, *Grotio* mater fuit.
Senex ephebus ille, quem *Batavia*
Miratur omnis, optat *Hetruscus* sibi
Omnisque *Gallus*: Ille dum puer fuit,
Vir esse cœpit. Namque reliqui viri
Tandem fuere: *Grotius* vir natus est.

FINIS.

20.
30. 31.
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68.
71. 5. 6.
81. 9.
91. 4. 7. 8.
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